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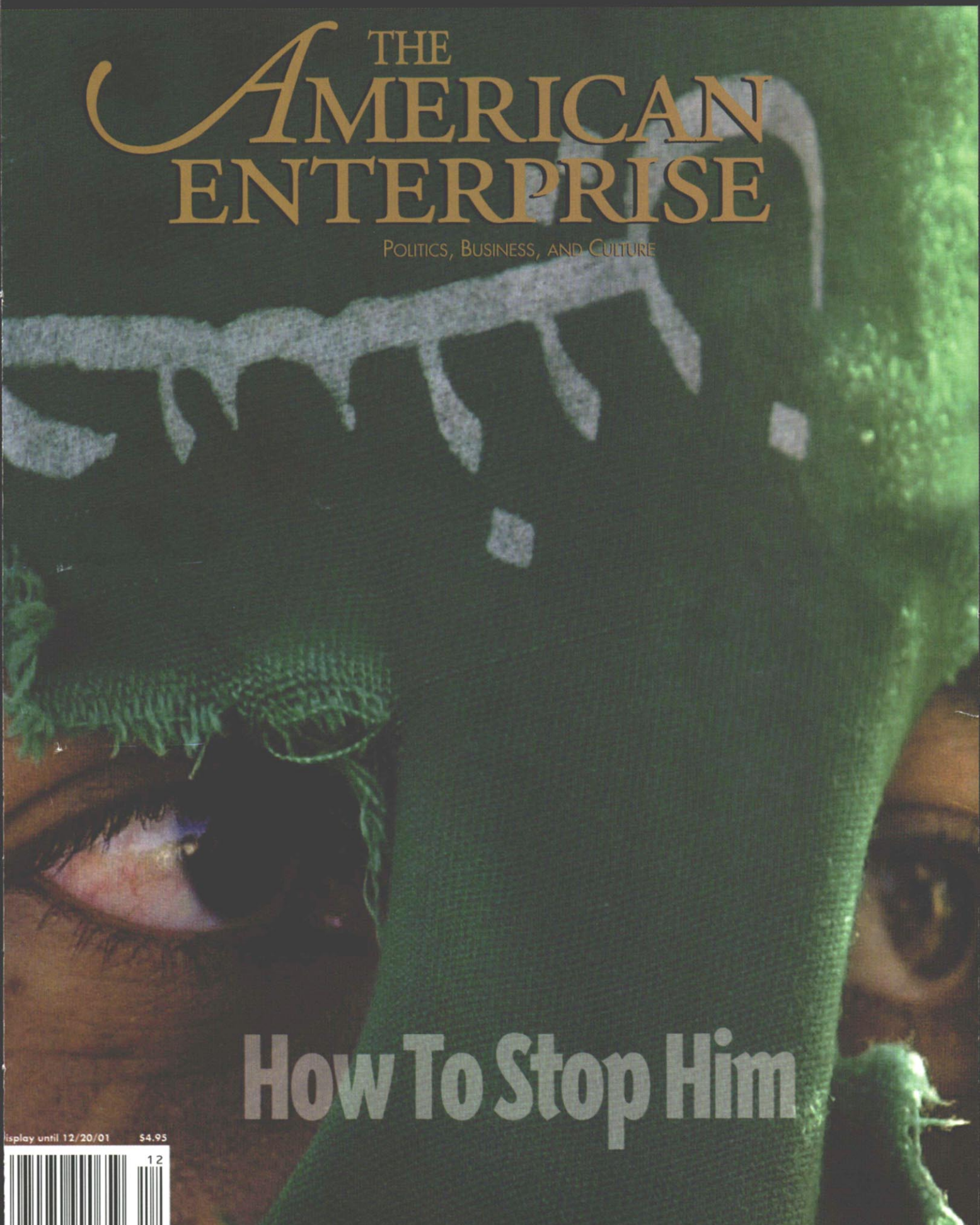

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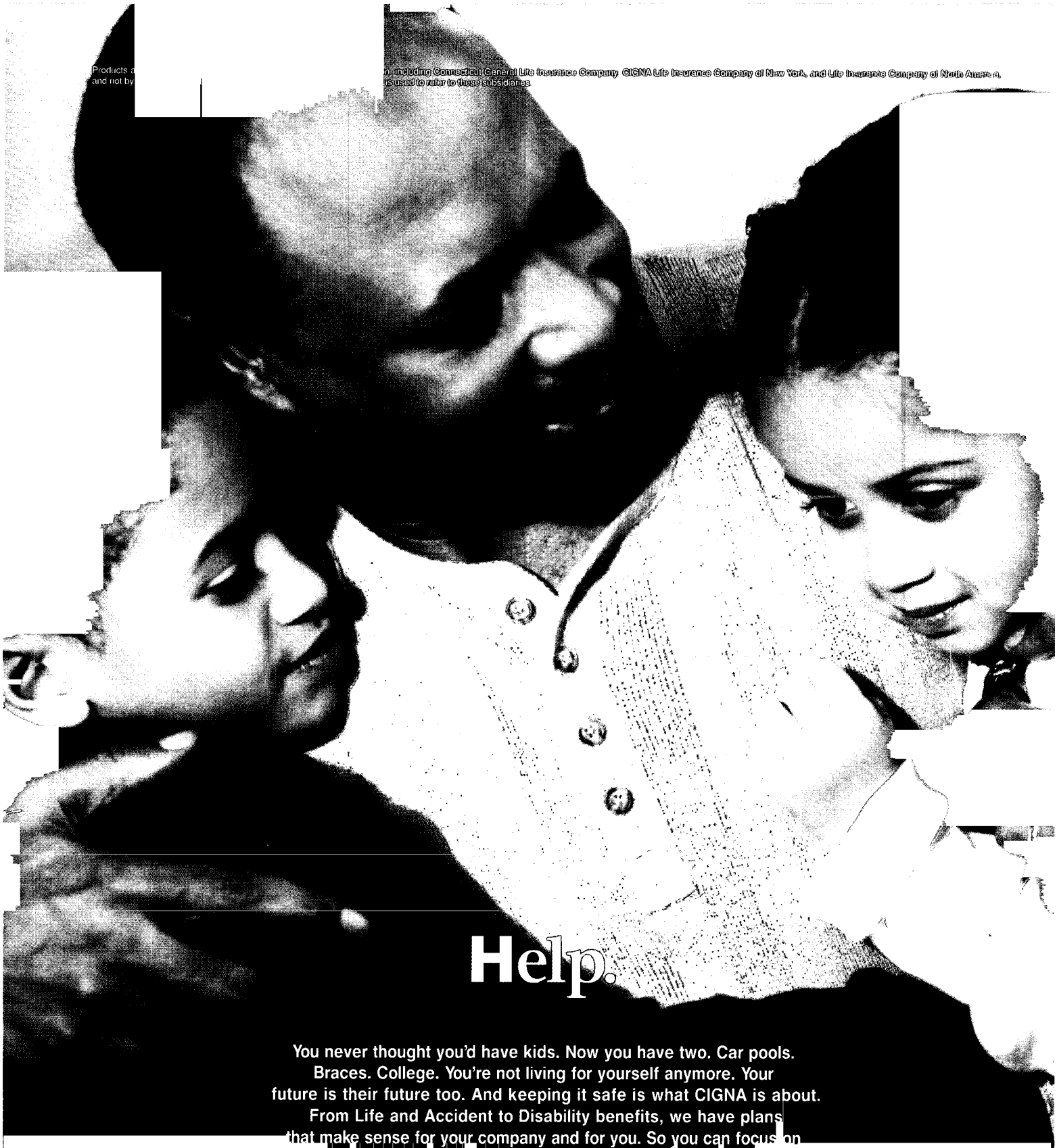

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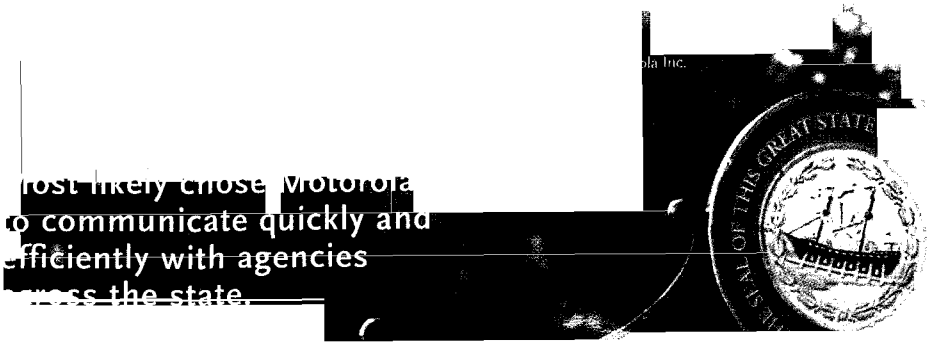

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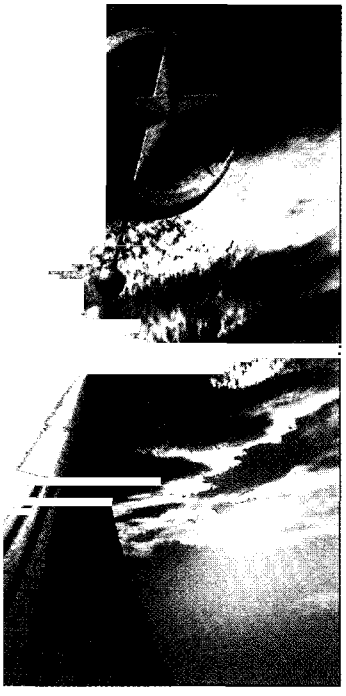

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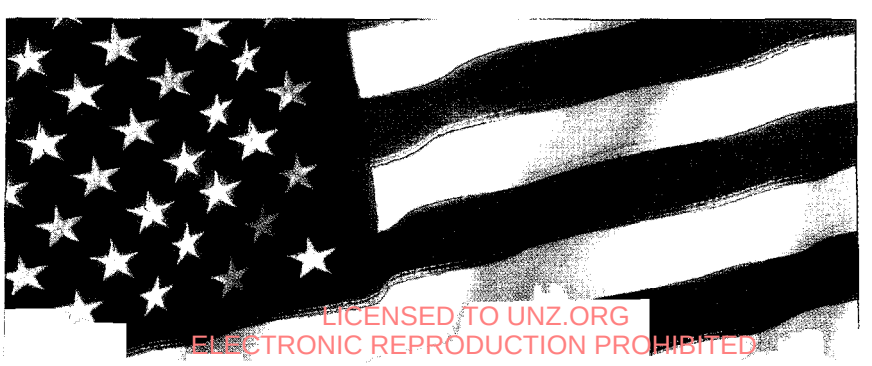

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Bird's Eye

Karl Zinsmeister

Test of a Lifetime

"We cannot 'deal' with terror. It will not end in a treaty. There will be no peaceful coexistence, no negotiations, no summit, no joint communique with the terrorists. The struggle can only end with their complete and permanent destruction."

—Vice President Dick Cheney, October 18, 2001

Johnny King was one of the most loveable Americans you'd ever want to meet. He was also tough as nails.

He lived across the street from me on a blue-collar block in Ithaca, New York. When I knew him he was in his 70s, widowed, with hardly a penny to his name, yet proud and self-sufficient. He spent much of his time pursuing two favorite hobbies: fishing and skindiving. On many a morning we'd see skinny little Johnny heading out to Cayuga Lake with nothing but a swimsuit and a scratched-up old mask. He'd take big breaths and explore the lake bottom, down 30 feet sometimes. Upstate New York lakes are cold, but Johnny would head out even on the chilliest rainy days; he was a hardy old buzzard.

He grew up that way. He and several brothers were raised in the rural borderlands between southern New York and Pennsylvania, in a family that didn't have much money. From the time Johnny was about six, his parents would send him and his older siblings down to the Susquehanna River during the warm months to fend for themselves. The boys would put up a tent, plant a garden (mostly potatoes), and fish and hunt all summer to feed themselves. They'd collect old railroad ties for the fires in which they roasted their spuds. They were completely uncoddled children, but grew up self-reliant, strong, and uncomplaining.

That steeliness came in handy one day for John King. You see, during World War II he became a Marine, and was one of those Americans who fought the savage, month-long, hand-to-hand battle at Iwo Jima. He brought home a Purple Heart, numerous wounds, and rough memories of a dirty fight. "We'd beg them to surrender," he once told me. "We broadcast, we warned them, but they wouldn't give up. We had to kill every last one"—often by hand after entering ruptured fortifications. Virtually every one of the 21,000 Japanese defenders fought to his death. Dispatching them cost us 6,821 soldiers of our own, plus 20,000 wounded.

It's tempting to say they don't make 'em anymore like John King. But for America's sake, let's hope that's not true.

For nearly all of us, life is a lot softer now than it was for my old friend. And we're mostly glad for it. Who would prescribe a family life that requires children to fend for themselves in the outdoors? Yet when we came up against some maniacally devoted foes in the Pacific, it was a very good thing for our nation that hard, uncowable men like Johnny were around to make sure our side won.

Extended periods of militarism are psychologically unhealthy and poisonous to societal freedoms. War hardens hearts, eats the economy, and cramps political liberty. But the fact is, sometimes wars are necessary, and we must never lose our capacity and willingness to fight them sharply when the occasion calls.

There are times when even a gentle people must be fierce. There are moments when we have to knock opponents down. There are times the police need to kick in doors and crack

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heads. There are seasons when our soldiers and covert agents have to plunge bayonets into cruel enemies who won't relent.

Every strong society—ours included—needs tough, reckless men willing to rush into burning buildings, to risk death fistfighting with highjackers, to launch almighty firestorms of devastation against recalcitrant foes who dared to strike their homeland. Historically, Americans have never had trouble finding the mettle for such tasks. Our frontier was not settled by nervous nellies with degrees in Peace Studies.

We must prove the bin Ladens of the world wrong in their belief that modern living has evaporated our strength and discipline and courage.

But Osama bin Laden and millions of other foreigners now doubt that America still produces such men. They see us as overfed, utterly unheroic materialists. In his 1996 declaration of war on the U.S. bin Laden states, "Your problem will be how to convince your troops to fight, while our problem will be how to restrain our youths to wait for their turn in fighting." He taunts:

> Where was this false courage of yours when the explosion in Beirut took place in 1983? You were turned into scattered pits and pieces at that time; 241 Marines were killed. And where was this courage of yours when two explosions made you to leave Aden in less than 24 hours! But your most disgraceful case was in Somalia; where, after vigorous propaganda about the power of the U.S. [just] tens of your soldiers were killed in minor battles and one American pilot was dragged in the streets of Mogadishu, and you left the area carrying disappointment, humiliation, defeat, and your dead with you. Clinton appeared in front of the whole world threatening and promising revenge, but these threats were merely a preparation for withdrawal.... The extent of your impotence and weaknesses became very clear.

"Members of the American army are too cowardly and too fearful to meet the young people of Islam face to face," bin Laden concludes.

Bin Laden is wrong in the worst way about rank-and-file American fighting men, and I and many others will take grim satisfaction on the day when some decidedly nasty U.S. soldier dispatches him to Hell, then plants a flag upon his corpse. But not only America's soldiers will need to be brave and determined as we fight this war against terror. Our political decision makers and—most of all—our public at large will need to hang very tough.

"The citizen is more than 50 percent of our success," the head of the Jerusalem bomb squad told us when *TAE* asked him how his country resists suicide bombers. The most important defensive weapon in a terror war is a bold and dauntless population. So it's a bit disappointing to hear, for instance, of grown men and women confronting doctors with whiny demands for unneeded Cipro. They do no credit to themselves or their nation.

More generally, professor Paul Rahe warns:

> If we are as squeamish about risking our lives, about taking the lives of foreign dignitaries, about making war on countries that sponsor those who make war on us, if we remain as feckless generally as we have been in the low dishonest decade that has just ended, down the road we will pay a far, far heavier price than the one that our fellow countrymen in New York have already paid.

There is no doubt that today's America brims with education, refinement, and sophisticated talent of all sorts. Now we'll find out if our society has also retained some older American virtues—like fearlessness and tenacity. We will need those qualities to see the current battle through to its necessary end: the obliteration of our opponents. I myself have no doubt the carpenters and business-owners and deer-hunters in the massive middle of our society will hold up in this regard. Our elites are more of a question mark. How much pounding can our news anchors and computer yuppies and professors and high-income soccer moms stand?

Until recently, many people imagined we could sanitize national defense into a kind of grand computer game. Now it appears the anti-terror battle may eventually boil down, sometimes literally, to a series of knife fights. Memo to kindergarten teachers, clergy, and feminists: We of course want to moderate and productively channel the aggression of America's little boys—but we emphatically do not want to squelch it. Life is a balance, and our current civilization, thank goodness, is built primarily on reason, not brawn. But there is still very much a place for physical valor even in the twenty-first century, as our firemen and police officers and soldiers and President have recently reminded us. That's why it's important to keep training our kids in contact sports ("ritualized violence!" shriek the harpies), in responsible firearms use, in outdoor survival skills. That's why we need to walk away from corrupting luxuries. We must prove the bin Ladens of the world wrong in their belief that modern living will evaporate our strength and discipline and courage.

Our foes have formidable qualities. In bin Laden's manifestos, of which I have read several, there is true (mad) vigor. "Slay the idolaters wherever you find them, and take them captives and besiege them and lie in wait for them in every ambush," he urges his forces, quoting from an old Islamic text. He offers many exhortations to selflessness, dogged effort, and principled sacrifice—some of them truly poetic. It's up to us to be equally unintimidated, fearless, and unbribable in our nobler cause.

As the wise student of force Owen Harries has suggested, America needs to be reluctant to fight abroad, but once engaged "determined to prevail," and "prepared to be ruthless in order to do so." We'll need a good deal of John King's sturdiness in the months ahead. May the higher and harder vision win.

Thankfully, the stark despicableness of the September 11 sneak attack has punctured some of our nation's most harmful illusions about self-defense and the use of force. There was, for instance, much loose talk prior to September 11 claiming the nation-state is irrelevant in a "globalized" world, and that bor-

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ders are no longer needed. Anybody continue to believe that?

Plenty of people had become convinced that police "profiling" is the most wicked practice since Nazism. Still think so? In places like New York City, the whole left side of the spectrum from Al Sharpton to Mark Green was insisting that policemen in general are the enemy, not a solution. Is that right, fellas? And don't forget that barely over a year ago, Hillary and Bill Clinton let a group of still-recalcitrant Puerto Rican terrorists out of jail early. Bet there won't be another amnesty like that soon.

Another welcome casualty of the last few months is the notion, promoted by "multiculturalists" for two decades now, that no society is any more worthy than another. That view won't be swallowed so uncritically in the future.

It's also pleasing to see how working men have been rehabilitated after years of vilification as rednecks and hard-hatted Neanderthals. I don't remember any great admiration for guys in flannel shirts among Manhattan professional women or journalists prior to the World Trade Center calamity. In fact, I remember relentless attacks from those quarters on blue-collar masculinity and all its manifestations. Yet this fall, one could hardly turn on a morning talk show originating from New York City or Washington without hearing some well-coifed female proclaim how reassuring it was to feel that pair of brawny arms around her when the steel started raining down. Nor does antipathy for the military, nor '60s-style pacifism, seem likely to return any time soon. Good riddance all.

Keep in mind that just a blink or two before al-Qaeda slapped us in the face, many of these views were headed in the opposite direction. It was in 1995 that idiot idealists in the Clinton administration drew up the rules that choked off most "human intelligence" over at the CIA. The new regulations forbade our intelligence agencies from hiring any foreign informer who might have been connected to a human-rights violation at some point. Hundreds of valuable infiltrators were lost as soon as these measures were imposed, despite sober warnings that this would leave us blind overseas. We can't expect our spy agencies to deal exclusively "with Boy Scouts," former Democratic Senator Sam Nunn has argued. "Bad folks are the folks we *need* to penetrate bad organizations." But when it came to the game of international hardball, the Clintonites were slow learners.

Today's latter-day patriots at the *New York Times* were also very slow learners. We should never forget that on the very day of September 11, the *Times* ran a long flattering profile of unrepentant 1970s Weather Underground radical and Pentagon bomber Bill Ayers. "No Regrets for a Love Of Explosives," the article was titled. "I don't regret setting bombs," it opened. "I feel we didn't do enough." Ayers's pose in the publicity photo for his brand-new book? Standing on an American flag. Let us hope this sort of rottenness in the *New York Times* worldview will hide in guilty abeyance for a while at least.

The good news is, much of this trendy, self-damaging thinking is suddenly open for reassessment in America. With that as encouragement, what should our nation focus on in today's struggle with terror?

First, let's recognize that we're in a full-blown war; that (contrary to mealy-mouthed platitudes) it is indeed a war against a considerable part of Islam; and that the September 11 attacks were only the final straw in an ugly sequence going back 22 years. We should have broken this chain long ago:

In 1979, Muslim militants in Tehran imprisoned the U.S. embassy staff for 444 days. In 1982, Muslim radicals killed 49 people by bombing the U.S. embassy in Beirut. In 1983, Muslim bombers killed 241 U.S. Marines in Beirut. In 1986, U.S. soldiers died in a Berlin disco bombing carried out by Muslim terrorists. In 1988, 270 people perished when Pan Am flight 103 was blown to bits by Muslim extremists. The first attempt to bring down the World Trade Center, in 1993, failed only because the Muslim terrorists involved couldn't afford enough explosives. Even still, there were more than a thousand casualties and millions of dollars of damage. Also in 1993, there was a barely thwarted Muslim attempt to kill former President George Bush while he visited Kuwait. In 1995, five Americans were blown up by a Saudi Arabian car bomb. In 1996 Muslim terrorists bombed the Khobar Towers housing U.S. airmen, leaving 519 casualties. (The Saudis stonewalled the investigation, as well as many others that have involved Saudi nationals.) In 1998, Muslim terrorists killed 212 people and wounded more than 5,000 by blowing up our embassies in Kenya and Tanzania. In 2000, they nearly sunk our advanced warship *USS Cole*. Countless other plots by Muslim attackers, like the millenium bombings last year, were foiled by our law-enforcement agencies. Long before September 11 we ought to have said *enough is enough.*

Hatred of America is widespread in Islamic countries. There is tremendous resentment of our economic success, military might, and cultural dominance. As terrorism expert Michael Radu of the Foreign Policy Research Institute writes, "there are no known cases of contemporary mass terrorism in the name of Judaism, Christianity, Confucianism, Buddhism, or Hinduism." But there is something within Islam that makes it very easy to incubate terror.

Christianity is a missionary religion, but not at all political. Judaism is a political religion, though not missionary. Islam, however, is *both*—it is highly missionary in its interest in people's personal beliefs, and highly political in its intertwining with the state. That easily makes it a force for conflict.

No less an authority than Ahmad Khomeini, son of the rabid Ayatollah Khomeini, has presented Islam as a world ideology competing broadly with American principles and values. "After the fall of Marxism," Khomeini has stated, "Islam replaced it" in the "struggle" against the U.S.

Owen Harries has noted that "among Western elites, there is the assumption that conflict between peoples is the result of misunderstanding and ignorance, and that once these are removed in a multicultural world, harmony will prevail." In the case of Islam, this could hardly be more wrong. Islamic terrorists actually understand us rather well; many of the most dangerous ones have lived in the West for extended periods, been educated by our schools, and even married our women. This makes them not one bit less murderous. As author Stuart Taylor writes, "They do not hate us for our flaws. They hate us for our virtues." They hate us because we are the massive, shining alternative to Islam.

Terrorists in the Islamic world are not like terrorists in Ire-

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land or Columbia or elsewhere—who tend to be social riffraff. Our Muslim attackers are the cream of Islam. The Muslim Brotherhood, one of the primary feeders for al-Qaeda and other violent groups, is now the single most popular political group among college students throughout the Muslim world. The leaders of al-Qaeda, Islamic Jihad, Hezbollah, and like groups are mostly engineers, Ph.D.s., pharmacists, and lawyers. Many have studied in the U.S. or Europe. Bin Laden's two main deputies are a physician and the grandson of one of Egypt's most famous Muslim clerics. It is resentment and competition, not ignorance, that drives their antipathy for America.

And our enemies are not fringe wackos, marginal within their Islamic faith. The Wahabi tradition that has proven such a stimulating nursery for al-Qaeda terrorists is essentially the state religion of Saudi Arabia. Numerous central Islamic institutions are deeply involved in fomenting terror. "Oh Allah, destroy America.... Cover the White House in black" intones the official Mufti of Jerusalem in the Al Aqsa mosque, one of the holier sites in Islam.

TAE polling expert Karlyn Bowman presents survey data on page 11 suggesting that in the conflict between the Taliban and the U.S., Pakistanis choose the Taliban by 83 to 3 percent. Other opinion polls show that close to a majority of Palestinians now say they support suicide bombing attacks on civilians as a national policy. There is ample evidence that many Muslims, from all walks of life, in numerous countries, view Osama bin Laden as a holy warrior rather than a terrorist.

"What America needs from the Islamic world is for Muslims themselves—from the smallest mosques in New York City to the largest in Mecca—to read the fundamentalists out of Islam," urges Michael Radu. Scholar David Wurmser points out later in this issue that "It is not America's choice to decide how much of Islam it is in conflict with, or to adjudicate which branch of Islam is more 'authentic.' That choice belongs to Muslims." More generally, adds Johns Hopkins professor Fouad Ajami, "the redemption of the Arab political condition, and the weaning of that world away from its ruinous habits and temptations, are matters for the Arabs themselves."

What America can control is how we react to the choices made in the Muslim world. Clearly any Muslim who selects the bin Laden/Khomeini path has made himself our "enemy for life, as well as an enemy of life," to quote Christopher Hitchens. That should have strong consequences.

While Muslims sort themselves into responsible and irresponsible camps, what can we do? Several things. First, and most broadly, we should *separate* ourselves. Bill Clinton met with terror-friendly Yasser Arafat more than with any other foreign leader. His Secretary of State Warren Christopher visited the terrorist haven of Syria 24 times in four years (versus a total of two visits to China over the same period). This cuddling has earned us little love or respect; it's time now to back off, look after our own interests directly, and stop imagining we can make those sorts of states into our partners.

Simultaneously, we should demand that the more moderate Arab states make some choices. We've given Egypt $2 billion per year for decades. We have long sheltered Saudi Arabia under our military umbrella. If those nations continue to turn a blind eye to vehement anti-Americanism among their own people (even welcoming it as a way of distracting their populations from restiveness against their own governments), and refuse to cooperate with our terror investigations and attempts to defund al-Qaeda and other gangsters, we must distance ourselves from them as well.

The most important part of isolating ourselves from the hatred, corruption, and tyranny so rampant in the Middle East is a third element: Privately warn each and every Islamic state, in quiet but dire tones, that America's new policy allows *no tolerance whatever* of terrorism against our people. Just as we used the threat of nuclear annihilation to deter communist aggression for nearly 50 years, we need a deterrence policy against Islamic terrorism built on the iron principle that all attacks on us will result in tremendous counter-pain. No more suicide-bombing-of-the-month followed by a U.S. cruise missile pinprick. That flabbiness is what allowed our monstrous opponents to grow so threatening.

We must speak softly in public and avoid arrogance so as not to inflame Islamic jingoism. But we must warn all the Islamic dictators (there is not one who has been elected) that we will act in the darkest ways if they harbor aggression against us. If they want to impoverish themselves and abuse their own people in the pursuit of medievalisms, let them do so in peace; but crush them the second they intrude on our own lives.

"Only the fearsome exercise of power can influence these people," writes the notably unbloodyminded Stuart Taylor. "They do not respect appeasement. They respect power." Today's large cohort of Muslim extremists will never like us; that is impossible given the clash of worldviews (see "Why They Hate Us" on pages 26-29). We can, however, make sure they fear us.

That will require a steady, years-long campaign of intelligence gathering and covert action across the Middle East, wreaking as much havoc among the terrorist groups as possible, acting without mercy. It will also require tireless homeland defense, stricter immigration controls, and more civil defense. These things cannot be avoided. Done properly, they will (after some adjustments) allow us to live our lives without notably cramping our liberties or economic vitality.

But it will not quite be business as usual. We are at war. As former Secretary of the Navy James Webb observes, "our recent tendency to consider terrorists mere criminals has been a grave mistake." Given the direct ideological links among the many attacks on us over two decades, given the willingness of the perpetrators to die for their cause, given that these men call themselves soldiers, Webb suggests "we should accept their definition of this new battlefield, and meet them on it."

And when you fight soldiers in a dangerous war, you don't arrest them. You shoot them. "If a person is willing and desirous of dying for the cause of his choice, you are not going to stop him. The best way to accommodate him is to kill him quickly, on your terms," Webb concludes, "rather than allowing him the luxury of dying at the time and place of his choosing."

Let's just hope there are still enough Americans with the fiber of Johnny King to see that nasty job through.

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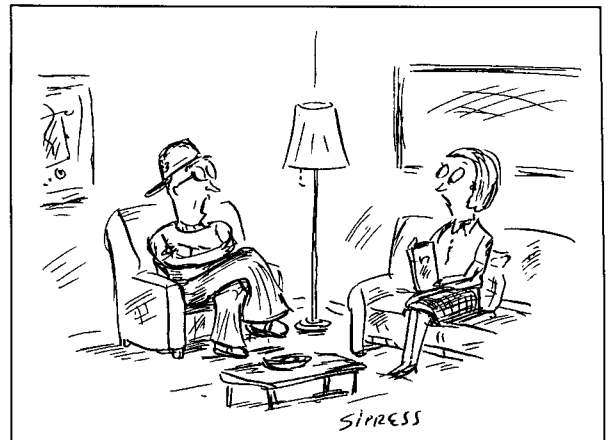
Sidelights



"Fifty-four is not middle-aged."

On September 10, the Amherst, Massachusetts Board of Selectmen voted four to one to restrict the flying of the American flag on Main Street utility poles to six days a year. The lone dissenter wanted the limit to be one day a year. · · · During a recent peace demonstration, the Berkeley, California fire department suspended the display of American flags on emergency vehicles. According to assistant fire chief **Michael Migliori**, "We feel that it is a possibility that some of the demonstrators might attack the flag and or the firefighters flying the flags." · · · The U.S. Tennis Association no longer allows "The Star-Spangled Banner" to be played before daily matches, fearing it sounded too pro-American. "We decided to do 'America, the Beautiful' out of respect to all nations," said spokesperson **Andrea Jayson**. America is culturally "in the dark ages," according to left-wing filmmaker **Michael Moore**, because "we are the only country in the whole world without dominant state-controlled media." Under the assumption that its citizens prefer television to sex, India wants to make TV sets cheaper as part of an effort to fight population growth. "Entertainment is an important part of our population policy," said health minister **C. P. Thakur**. "We want people to watch television." The U.S. Marine Corps now allows female Marines to use lipstick while clad in camouflage, so long as the color is "non-eccentric." Nail polish, earrings, and purses are still prohibited. Female college students in Fort Collins, Colorado are beginning to carry handguns to protect themselves from a serial rapist who has struck six times since May. "I don't want to live in fear," said one 23-year-old student. "I don't want to be afraid of going out at night. I just want him to know not everyone is going to be submissive." According to the U.S. Department of Education, the number of home schooled American children has more than doubled since 1994. **People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals** suggests that individuals who can't give up meat start eating whales. According to their new Web site, eatthewhales.com, "If people in the U.S. ate whales instead of chickens and other animals, we could spare more than 24 billion animals a miserable life and hideous death every single year!"

Internal Revenue Service employees spend half their online time at work on non-work-related activity, according to the Treasury Department. Mostly, IRS employees use the Internet to shop, trade stocks, chat in chat rooms, gamble, and visit sex sites. · · · The IRS is reportedly planning to hire a public relations firm and spend up to $20 million in an effort to improve the agency's image. "What the Postal Service needs now is nothing short of privatization," says former postmaster general **William Henderson**. "I can't believe that 25 years from now the Postal Service will still be owned by the federal government." Sales of Confederate flags are falling. According to one Georgia shopkeeper, after September 11, "anybody who thinks about anything other than the American flag or the USA is crazy." · · · The American Civil Liberties Union has taken the case of nine Seminole County, Georgia students who were forced to turn their Confederate T-shirts inside out or face disciplinary action. A group of high-school students visiting the Jefferson Memorial in Washington were prevented from singing the national anthem by a park ranger. Federal regulations consider any gathering of 26 people or more who might attract an audience a "demonstration" requiring a permit. Germany is investigating reports that EU money was indirectly used to produce anti-Semitic Palestinian schoolbooks. The textbooks refer to Jews as "traitors" and "disloyal," and state that "there is no alternative to the destruction of Israel." · · · Despite the recent terrorist attacks, Berkeley's Students for Justice in Palestine proceeded with plans for Intifada Week, a celebration of the one-year anniversary of Palestinian attacks against Israel. French socialist Prime Minister **Lionel Jospin** is considering tax cuts as a way to stimulate the economy. Noted anthropologist **Ida Magli** refuses to be paid royalties in the form of euros. She writes, "I, being Italian, do not intend to use the euro because it is a proof and a recognition of my country's loss of freedom and independence. I choose Swiss francs because Switzerland is not a member of the European Union." · · · Citing hygiene issues, the EU bans the use of shaving brushes at barbershops, prompting protests and defiance by Italian barbers. A British theater company is staging a lesbian version of "Romeo and Juliette." Juliette's nurse will be played as a homosexual transvestite. —*BB*

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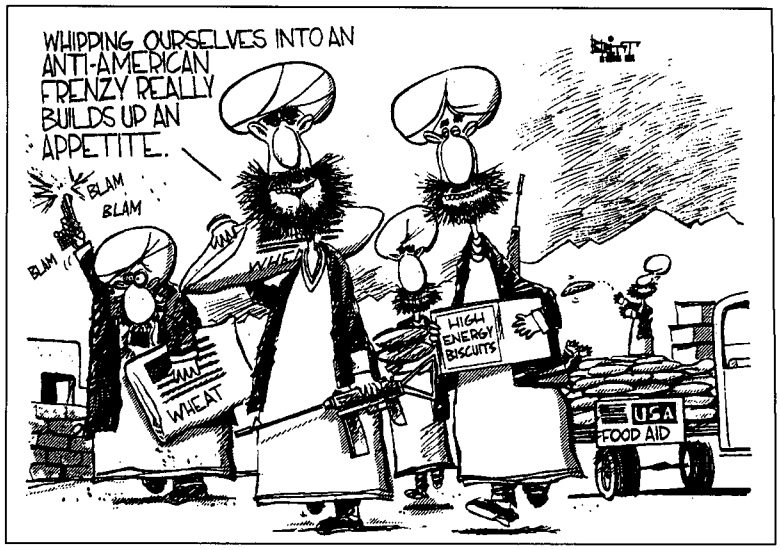

Chris Britt

FIGHT TERROR: DRILL IN AMERICA

Not long ago, a British newspaper published an account of Osama bin Laden's upbringing. Numerous details illustrate the wealth that has rained down on Saudi Arabia's leading families—like the trip to Sweden made by young bin Laden on a private jet carrying a Rolls-Royce in its cargo bay. The ultimate source of all this disposable income, of course, is oil, American petrodollars in particular. (In years past, even the Bush family got tangled up in oil deals with several members of the bin Laden clan.)

America needs oil, Middle Easterners have it in abundance. So we pay dearly—and in the process have allowed untold funds to be recycled into organizations that spawn horrific violence. This has happened not only with the Saudis but also with other petroleum-rich nations like Libya, Iran, and Iraq—a regular rogue's gallery. Groups like al-Qaeda, Hezbollah, the Muslim Brotherhood, and Hamas, as well as tyrants like Saddam Hussein, Muammar Qadaffi, and Ruhollah Khomeini would have remained impotent actors in funny uniforms and robes absent the oil money that poured into their coffers courtesy of our reliance on imported petroleum.

Oil has been the mother's milk of Middle Eastern terror.

While militant Islam provides the instruction book for today's most virulent forms of anti-Americanism, the power source for this potent xenophobia is our own preference for foreign crude—freely chosen over the alternative of more aggressively developing domestic energy sources.

Consider these numbers:

About 8 billion barrels of oil are imported each year by nations that do not produce enough to cover their own needs. By far the biggest importer is the U.S.—which buys nearly 4 billion barrels—a little less than half the total purchases.

The main beneficiaries of this American failure to provide for our own energy needs are the Middle Eastern nations which put up for sale 6 billion barrels of oil each year. These sales bring those societies—all of them undemocratic and at least latently hostile to the U.S.—roughly $150 billion annually in cold cash.

If America stopped importing oil at its current pace, oil prices would collapse completely. The gush of money into Middle Eastern dictatorships would be choked to a trickle. The practical ability of disaffected members of those societies to wreak havoc around the globe would be minimal.

By dramatically raising the price of oil on the world market, America's heavy purchases of foreign crude greatly benefit the countries that have become breeding grounds for Islamic extremism. (It doesn't matter whether we're actually buying our supplies from Middle Easterners or others; so long as we're the main purchasers of exported petroleum, we're the ones who keep the global price propped up.)

Our failure to provide for our own energy needs has made Muslim-controlled oil infinitely more valuable than it should be. And by funding not only terror cells but also irresponsible state research on nuclear, bacteriological, and chemical weapons (not to mention guided missile systems that may someday deliver those nasty packages), Mideast oil money has become a scourge to nearly every nation on earth.

No military solution alone can eradicate this threat. We must dry up the supply of money to the terrorists and the nations which support them. The best way to do this over the long run is to stop sending them petrodollars—by making greater use of our own energy reserves.

The U.S. has energy resources in abundance: untapped oil in Alaska, on our continental shelf, within the Rockies, and under the Great Lakes; coal enough to last for centuries; one of the planet's biggest balloons of natural gas; and nuclear energy technology that can produce economic, safe, and clean power in almost infinite supply. Only environmental phobias and political obstructionism prevent us from becoming far more energy self-sufficient. (See *TAE*'s September 2001 issue.)

Permitting a wave of intelligent new domestic oil and gas drilling, making a strong commitment to building third-generation nuclear plants, supporting greener methods of burning coal, and improving the use of other existing energy supplies could make the U.S. largely independent of Mideast oil suppliers—forever.

This would strengthen the American

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economy. And it would eventually allow us to thumb our noses at the sheiks and ayatollahs and tyrants who now use their oil incomes in their quest to destroy us.

DON'T JUST TRUST—DETER AND DEFEND

Foreign policy dreamers have always insisted the U.S. should rely on treaties to keep itself safe in a dangerous world. Liberal-minded idealists have promoted a whole parade of paper agreements as guarantors of our national security: nuclear disarmament treaties, anti-landmine treaties, treaties promising not to use chemical weapons, the ABM Treaty (which is said to be worth sacrificing a national missile defense for), and so forth.

What we've recently learned about one of the most prominent anti-war treaties of the last generation should therefore be sobering to today's parchment warriors: In 1972, the U.S., the Soviet Union, and about 100 other nations signed a treaty in which they promised not to use or develop biological weapons. We know that many nations, including some of our opponents today in the Middle East, have egregiously violated these promises in secret.

But what is most disturbing is the discovery that our most threatening competitor, the Soviet Union, never had any intention of being bound by its treaty promises. Literally at the same time they were soberly signing away their right to use germ warfare the Soviets were launching a massive secret program to create biological weapons that were deadlier and more numerous than ever. They put leading scientists to work developing bacteria and viruses that would be extra lethal and immune to antibiotics and vaccines. In 1992, when this organized cheating wound down due to the fall of the Berlin Wall, the Soviet bio-warfare program employed at least *30,000 people*. Some Russian scientists may still be working along the same lines, despite today's continuing biological weapons ban.

So it turns out America's biological disarmament was unilateral, though we were trusting otherwise. The moral: Don't rely on a piece of paper to constrain a potentially lethal opponent.

WE DIDN'T MAKE THESE MONSTERS

Ever since the September 11 attacks, it's become a matter of faith on the American Left that the United States somehow created the terror-loving Taliban regime.

The United States made mistakes under its last three Presidents, and it's possible that a different foreign policy could have stopped the Taliban from emerging. But America's errors were almost entirely sins of omission. Here's what happened:

The anti-Soviet *mujahedin* funded by the U.S. consisted of seven factions. Some were fundamentalist Muslims who envisioned an Islamic state along the lines of Saudi Arabia. About as many had a cosmopolitan orientation and wanted a Westernized state similar to Turkey. The Taliban were not among the *mujahedin* factions at all, and all of the Taliban's important leaders, including Mullah Omar, were out of the country, mostly in Pakistan, during the war against the Soviets. Some American aid surely did seep into Taliban organizations, but only as one group among many.

Partly because of their ideological diversity, the *mujahedin* failed to unify when the Soviets withdrew in 1989. Afghanistan lurched from regime to regime as living standards deteriorated.

Anxious to control the lucrative Afghan trade in opium poppies, the Pakistanis supported the Taliban, whom they believed would be weak and easy to manipulate. The United States did not aid the Pakistanis in these efforts, and actually cut off financing to them at about the same time in the wake of Pakistan's nuclear tests.

Wealthy Saudis did, however, support the Taliban, some because they sympathized with the Taliban's vision of a pure Islamic state; some because they feared a more pro-Western government would aid the tapping of Central Asia's vast energy resources, undermining oil prices in the process; and some who saw their donations as "protection money" to keep the Taliban and their ilk out of Saudi Arabia. The Taliban, for their part, began a military campaign in 1994 and consolidated control over 90 percent of the country by 1996. Some *mujahedin* fighters joined them, but the Taliban's leaders had never worked with the United States.

In the mid 1990s, the U.S. did little to stand in the way of the Taliban, probably the single worst mistake of American foreign policy during the '90s. But we didn't create the Taliban, or Osama bin Laden.

DON'T COUNT ON MUSLIM SUPPORT

Measuring public opinion in an open society such as ours is challenging enough. Measuring opinion in a military dictatorship where people may be reluctant to respond truthfully to interviewers is much more difficult. So some caution is in order in interpreting the results of a recent *Newsweek* poll carried out in Pakistan in mid October.

In the survey, 83 percent of Pakistanis said they sympathize with the Taliban in today's conflict. Only 3 percent sided with the U.S. Eighty-two percent described Osama bin Laden as a holy warrior, just 6 percent as a terrorist. When asked who was responsible for the attack, only 12 percent named bin Laden.

WHAT A THOUGHTFUL TERRORIST

Terror isn't only an import to America; it's worth remembering that the U.S. shelters violent extremists of its own. The day after the September 11 attacks, Daniel Burton Rose, a San Francisco-area anarchist who has been an inspiration to U.S. eco-terrorists, animal-rights raiders, and anti-globalization vandals, was asked about the New York and Washington carnage.

His compatriots carry out their violence mostly against property, he noted fastidiously, just like the '70s radicals who cased buildings to try and make sure they were empty before planting their bombs.

Then he offered a practical critique of the World Trade Center and Pentagon attackers that showed the depth of his discernment and compassion: "There are always ways to make allowances for people's lives.... Why couldn't they have done what they did on a Sunday?"

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Gary Brookins

Almost half, 48 percent, said Israel was responsible and a quarter chose "a U.S. group." Not all responses in the poll were this anti-American, but it's clear that substantial numbers of the Pakistani people (and presumably many other Muslims) are not our friends.

DOES HOLLYWOOD SEE THE LIGHT?

"She knows, *she knows*" is a line uttered by Annie Sullivan in stage and film biographies of Helen Keller. Helen had been both blind and deaf since early childhood, and the teacher is jubilant when her student has a first epiphany of understanding after long held captive in the dark.

Hollywood may be experiencing a similar revelation in the aftermath of September 11. Having for many years embraced values markedly different from those of mainstream America, the entertainment world now shows signs of wanting to bridge some of the gap. And it may be an emerging generation of actors and writers, less self-centered and jaded than their Baby Boom predecessors, who lead the way.

Recently, 17-year-old actress Liza Baron, the daughter of two Hollywood producers, went to her principal at Hollywood High to request that silent respect be paid to the victims of the terrorists. Actress Marie Downing, 26, of the TV sitcom "King of Queens" states that she "never took being an American for granted." She adds, "the rules imbedded into our society are far preferable to the chaos of some other cultures."

Patrick Nagle, 25, who just completed a film co-starring veteran performer Wilford Brimley, says "building the nation's confidence" should be one of the "honors" of being an actor. "Maybe a new John Wayne or Jimmy Stewart will rise to invigorate the American spirit," he suggests hopefully.

This young idealism is matched by some encouraging new realism among certain senior members of the entertainment establishment. Emmy-winner David Milch, a former producer of "NYPD Blue," recently wrote a stirring letter to the *New York Times* stressing the need for prayers for "the brave, determined defenders of freedom and human dignity."

Playwright Maxwell Anderson once noted that an audience only feels satisfied when a hero is forced to confront a moral dilemma and become a better person. Perhaps now, Hollywood is going through just such a transformation.

—**Cheryl Rhoads** *is a Hollywood actress, writer, and teacher.*

MAJOR LEAGUE PRIORITIES

One impressive moment in this fall's baseball season came when Los Angeles Dodger star Shawn Green announced he would decline to play on September 26—because it was a holy day within his Jewish religion. In the process, Green sacrificed, among other things, his streak of consecutive games played, on the way to being one of the longest in the major leagues.

A similar, even starker sacrifice was made a few years ago by a 340-pound offensive football tackle for Brigham Young University named Eli Herring. A devout Mormon, Herring turned down a multimillion-dollar NFL contract because it would require him to play on Sundays, a holy day of rest according to his faith.

Crisp reminders to us all that there are things more important than money, celebrity, and occupational success—and that there are still Americans who recognize this.

THE DEATH PENALTY AND ITS ALTERNATIVES

President Bush has been denounced by European and American liberals for allowing the application of the death penalty. Among those whose cause was taken up by "human rights" groups abroad as well as domestically was Juan Raul Garza, a former drug kingpin convicted of three murders and described by one of his prosecutors as "the most violent man I've ever prosecuted."

Former President Clinton twice postponed Garza's execution, ostensibly on account of concerns about "the disturbing racial composition" of federal death row inmates—even though seven of Garza's reported eight murder victims were Hispanic, and the presiding judge at his trial was Hispanic, as were at least six of the jurors. So what would the rights groups have us do with men like Mr. Garza?

Death penalty opponents often argue that executing criminals is a needless act of inhumanity, since the threat of a sentence of life without parole is just as effective a deterrent to crime. Whatever one thinks of that claim in the abstract, the fact is that no jury has the legal authority to prevent government officials years or decades in the future from offering clemency or parole after all—or to prevent judges at some later date from finding grounds for a new trial. The latter possibility is illustrated by the new trial recently granted to Wilbert Rideau, who shot three hostages during a bank robbery

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BLACK LISTED

When *Ebony* magazine released its list of the 100 most influential black Americans for 2001, the roster included people like Percy Miller ("who has risen from a mere rapper to a hip-hop mogul"), Samuel Brogdon, Jr. ("Sovereign Grand Chair, North, of the Prince Hall Masons"), and Donna M. Christian-Christensen (the nonvoting delegate to Congress from the Virgin Islands).

Guess who was not on their list of "influentials"? Try U.S. Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas. If you've got an anti-conservative agenda, he's The Invisible Man.

in 1961, killing one of them. Mr. Rideau, now 59, was originally sentenced to death, but his sentence was commuted to "life without the possibility of parole." Now, having become a "crusading prison journalist" according to the *New York Times*, he persuaded a federal appeals court to overturn his conviction on the grounds that blacks had been improperly excluded from the grand jury that originally indicted him, which had one black member. No one denies Rideau's guilt in the robbery and murder. But his lawyers are said to hope that in a new trial, jurors would have the option of convicting Rideau of manslaughter rather than murder, allowing his release on the basis of time served.

Anti-death-penalty groups know, of course, that there is no guarantee a sentence of life without parole will actually be followed. Potential killers likely know it too. Those of us who believe that the punishment should in some sense fit the crime may doubt that the prospect of spending two or even more decades behind bars, with the hope of ultimate emancipation, and with the opportunity meanwhile to pursue careers like "crusading prison journalist," constitutes just retribution for an act of cold-blooded murder like Mr. Rideau's. And in a society that doubts its right to impose the ultimate penalty on individuals who have committed the most vicious crimes against their fellow citizens, the horror against committing murder will tend inevitably to erode.

—**David Schaefer** *is a professor of political science at Holy Cross College.*

OPEN THE SPACE FRONTIER

Mankind seems further than ever from exploring other worlds. Launching payloads into space remains prohibitively expensive, ensuring that, except for communications satellites, space remains a place shunned by private enterprise.

The Cato Institute recently brought together entrepreneurs, lawyers, aerospace executives, and space enthusiasts to discuss ways to make space more accessible to businesses. Some of their suggestions:

• *Establish the rule of law.* The Outer Space Treaty of 1967 states that space is "the common heritage of mankind" and bars nations from establishing colonies on other planets. It's unlikely private firms will invest much in space under those socialistic terms. Space lawyer James Dunstan notes that although satellites do not own the areas in which they orbit, international treaties have established a quasi-property right that enables thousands of satellites to coexist peacefully. Moreover, the inside of a building you create in space *is* your property. These sorts of protections need to be expanded.

• *Establish a prize.* When Charles Lindbergh crossed the Atlantic in 1927, he wasn't just a glory seeker; he wanted the $25,000 promised to the first nonstop flight between New York and Paris. Gregg Maryniak of the X Prize Foundation hopes a similar advance in space exploration could come about with the establishment of his group's $10 million award for the first private company that flies "a reusable three-person spacecraft to 100 kilometers" above sea level twice in a two-week span. Currently, 21 teams are competing.

• *Limit government's role.* For the past 40 years, NASA has been the primary developer of U.S. spacecraft, with a legal monopoly on U.S. launches until the *Challenger* disaster, and a quasi-monopoly since. Reason Public Policy Institute researcher Robert Poole called for government to return to the policies of the 1920s and '30s. After World War I, the Post Office tried to set up its own air mail service, but after several crashes, the government decided to contract out air mail to entrepreneurs. It imposed no specifications on what airplanes should be used, which allowed enterprising types to experiment with different craft until they settled on models that worked. Many of today's major airlines and aircraft companies trace their roots to those old airmail contracts that provided a steady source of income with operational freedom.

• *Tax credits rather than loans.* Like most infant industries, space capitalists have difficulty finding investors. Congress is considering several solutions. One idea, sponsored by Senator John Breaux (D-LA), would provide government loan guarantees to spacecraft builders, similar to current shipbuilding subsidies. But Marc Schlather of ProSpace warns that such guaranteed loans would saddle new space companies with high amounts of debt and make them dependent on government indefinitely.

Far better, he says, is a bill sponsored by Representative Ken Calvert (R-CA) which would offer tax credits to investors in space enterprises, rather than subsidizing specific businesses. The credit would favor start-ups over older companies. A similar notion has been advanced by Representative Dana Rohrbacher (R-CA), who proposes that successful investments in space be exempt from federal taxes.

A thriving space frontier, many participants agreed, would encourage the same hardy virtues the old western frontier once fostered.

PITCHING IN FOR HUMANITY

While other Americans donated money, time, or blood to their fellow citizens in the days after September 11, Planned Parenthood of New York City made its own special offer: Free abortions at any of its clinics in Manhattan, Brooklyn, or the Bronx.

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DON'T TREAD ON ME

Chuck Pillon knows that if you want something done right—or done at all—sometimes you just have to do it yourself. After years of trying to get King County to clear an obstructed section of May Creek on public land, Pillon and his neighbors in this rural region east of Seattle were growing weary of being flooded out of their homes at annual intervals.

That's why on August 12 Pillon borrowed a backhoe and went to work. A few hours later, tons of silt, weeds, and debris were gone. The stream ran swift and clear. As newspapers puzzled over the mystery cleanout, Pillon admitted his act. He was promptly socked with criminal trespass charges and a $100,000 fine.

The way locals see it, that unfairly turned a knight into a villain. Nestled among the deep forests of the Cascade Mountains, the people of eastern King County are much more self-sufficient than their urbanized counterparts in nearby Seattle. A local plan calls for turning the neglected part of May Creek into a public park, complete with walking trails, picnic tables, and horse shoe pits. A free-flowing stream and placid side-pools for spawning salmon would be included. Residents want to name it Pioneer Park.

"We did everything right, but then the bureaucrats began their mad hatter's dance," Pillon relates. The county didn't have permits from the state to do the work. The state pointed to federal rules regarding fish, while the Feds said the county hadn't completed the right studies. The fact is, the government had no incentive to avoid a clogged creek. A bigger flood plain actually brings more private land under wetlands and Endangered Species regulation. When it was suggested that the state purchase private land for a public preserve, one government ecologist responded, "Why should we buy land when we can regulate it?"

—**Paul Guppy** *is vice president of research at Seattle's Washington Policy Center.*

WE'RE NOT KIDDING

The Thorupgaarden Nursing Home in Copenhagen, Denmark now offers its elderly residents erotic magazines, pornography on a videochannel, and the services of prostitutes. Overseers say they have found this has a "calming" effect on their patients.

BETTER LATE THAN NEVER

"Last week, Lee Weiner, a 1960s radical, did something he's never done before. He hung an American flag outside his home."

So reported the *Wall Street Journal* on September 19, continuing: "Many card-carrying members of the American Left...are feeling patriotic, in some cases for the first time.... A surprising number are concluding that the [U.S. response to September 11] must include military strikes against the culprits, and maybe even war."

"Danny Kaiser, a Sarah Lawrence College professor who marched in countless antiwar demonstrations in the 1960s and counseled students on how to dodge the draft [says] 'I hated outpourings of patriotism.... Now I see a larger perspective.' "

ZERO COMMON SENSE

A policy of "zero tolerance"—a fitting response to young hoodlums toting guns or illegal drugs—has over the last few years become a blanket standard in school districts across the country. Too often, school administrators apply it in ways devoid of reason:

• This year, Jeremy Hix, an honor student and bagpipe player from Holt, Michigan, was kicked out of school for the remainder of his junior year and the first half of his senior year after he wore full Scottish kilt regalia, including the ceremonial knife known as a "sgian dubh," to his junior prom.

• Two days after Jeremy's prom this spring, National Merit Scholar Lindsay Brown, also a trouble-free honor student, was yanked out of her classroom, handcuffed, charged with a felony, and carted off to jail for bringing a "weapon"—a round-pointed table knife—onto school property. The table knife had dropped onto the floor of her car while she was moving her belongings to an apartment near Gulf Coast University, where she was to enroll in an academic scholarship after school ended. Though prosecutors dropped the case against her, she missed graduating with her class and suffered the indignities of time in the slammer.

• A week before Lindsay Brown's misplaced table knife turned up, a fifth-grader was permanently ousted from an Oldsmar, Florida elementary school for drawing pictures of a gun.

• Five-year-old Jordan Locke was suspended from Curtisville Elementary School in Deer Lakes, Pennsylvania for "bringing a weapon to school." His "crime?" He was dressed as a fireman for his class Halloween party, and his costume included a small plastic firefighter's axe.

• A second-grader in Alexandria, Louisiana innocently brought his grandfather's pocket watch to school for "show and tell." But, to his misfortune, the pocket watch had attached to its chain a tiny pocket knife with a one-inch blade. This weapon-toting young "criminal" was suspended and hustled off to an alternative school for a month as punishment.

Overkill of this sort begins with the traumatizing prevalence of real trouble-makers in schools. It's fanned by a fear of lawsuits and racial complaints that prevents some administrators from excusing obviously innocent behavior for fear of seeming to play favorites. But these preposterous decisions only further erode Americans' already shaky faith in their public schools.

—**Tait Trussell** *is a freelance writer based in Florida.*

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Forward Observer

James Glassman

An American Alternative to Enviro-Gloom

For the third time in a year, representatives of about 170 nations have gathered—this time in exotic Marrakesh, Morocco in late October and early November—to decide what to do about the earth's climate. Again, the subject is the Kyoto Protocol, which requires industrialized countries to cut their greenhouse-gas emissions below 1990 levels. In a resolution four years ago, the Senate voted 95-0 to reject any climate treaty that would do "serious harm" to the U.S. economy. Kyoto would certainly do that. According to a study by President Clinton's Energy Department, implementing the treaty would reduce our GDP by three to four percentage points, and the cost of gasoline and utilities would rise by $2,500 per family. Al Gore signed Kyoto anyway, but Bill Clinton never submitted it for ratification. In March, President Bush made the U.S. rejection official, calling Kyoto "fatally flawed."

Since then, the United States has been under enormous pressure—especially from European nations, which face a much lighter burden under Kyoto than does the U.S.—to do something about global warming. Bush says that drastically cutting carbon dioxide emissions, produced in the burning of all fossil fuels, is far too high a price to pay for a problem that exists so far only in unreliable computer models. He wants more research.

But research, while necessary, is not sufficient. The administration should bring a completely new approach to Morocco, an approach that could be expanded—especially in this new age of terrorism—to become a central pillar of U.S. foreign policy. America's focus over the next years shouldn't be carbon dioxide, but poverty.

First, some science: Throughout the earth's history—long before the appearance of humans—the planet has been heating and cooling in cycles. Over the past century, surface temperatures have risen 1 degree Fahrenheit, an increase that has probably caused more good than harm. The unresolved question is how much of this slight warming is the result of human CO_2 emissions and how much is natural—perhaps produced by variations in solar energy. Kyoto seeks to slash human emissions, but even if the computer models are right the effects of such expensive cutbacks on temperature will be tiny.

But Kyoto is more than a scientific prescription. It is a distinct political, social, and economic vision. Bjorn Lomborg, a Danish scientist who says he once held "left-wing Greenpeace views," writes in his important new book *The Skeptical Environmentalist* that the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (the United Nations advisory group on the subject) is "using global warming as a springboard for other, wider policy goals." The IPCC, Lomborg writes, wants "a society which is less resource-oriented, less industrialized, less commercialized, less production-oriented.... It is important to realize that the discussion is no longer primarily about energy."

In Morocco, the U.S. should offer its own political, social, and economic vision for the future—a program to reduce global poverty. What does that have to do with Kyoto? Plenty. To respond to *any* environmental calamity —warming or cooling, floods or droughts—nations need the resilience that comes from a strong economy. New irrigation, dikes, transformed industries, can only be created with wealth. The U.S. response to the European challenge on global warming, then, should be to promote economic growth in poverty-stricken nations—by far the most vulnerable to the dangers of any adverse change in climate.

Imagine the depressive global economic effects of a Kyoto regime that would reduce U.S. output alone by up to $400 billion a year. The natural course of economic development over the next 50 years will enrich countries that are currently poor, allowing them to cope with effects of climate change—*if* such change, human-induced or natural, occurs. Malaria-afflicted Malaysia, for instance, will become like healthy Singapore. But if economic growth is impeded, environmental and health progress will also stall.

As its alternative to Kyoto, the U.S. should launch a program of economic and environmental aid to "aspiring" nations—those that protect entrepreneurship, reject statism, and accept democratic values. Mexico and India are prime candidates. We should enact nation-to-nation agreements, not another global treaty with all the posturing and bureaucracy that treaty making entails. And the emphasis must be on clean-energy sources.

Let the Europeans go their own way. Their leaders preach downsizing, small thinking, pain, and fear. The U.S. has more in common with aspiring Third World peoples, who know that the key to better health and a cleaner environment is economic growth—exactly what the grandees of Kyoto disdain.

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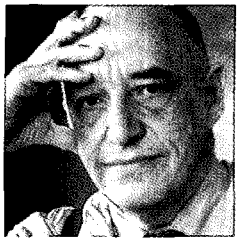
Two Views

The war on terror, and earlier problems in filling military positions, yield intriguing practical arguments over whether a new form of conscription should be considered. Is it...

Time to Bring Back the Draft?



Charles Moskos

If there was any upside to the terrible events of September 11, 2001, it was the perception of Americans coming together. The press highlighted the patriotic upsurge all across our country. There was, however, no increase in young people seeking to enter the armed forces in the weeks following the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. Despite all the flag waving, recruitment concerns remain at the forefront of the problems facing today's U.S. military.

Even before the war on terror opened, our armed services were already undermanned. The only way to resolve their serious shortages is to bring back the draft. It is time to construct a new form of American conscription that will restore the citizen soldier, properly compensate the career force, and allow other essential security work to be done at a reasonable cost to the nation.

A draft would dramatically upgrade the quality of U.S. recruits, because it would give the military access to a true cross-section of our youth. Due to enticing economic and educational alternatives elsewhere, the number of military enlistees who achieve advanced scores on qualifying tests has dropped by a third since the mid 1990s. In fiscal year 2000, the Army actually took in some 380 recruits with felony arrests.

Most telling, over a third of new military members currently fail to complete their enlistments. Contrast this with the one in ten draftees who didn't complete their two-year obligations when we last had a draft. It's much better to have most soldiers serve a short term honorably than to have large cohorts discharged for cause.

A twenty-first-century draft would be based on several principles: 1) Males only, as combat would be a likelihood. Women should be allowed to volunteer as they do now. 2) Active duty should be relatively short—perhaps 18 months. 3) This would be followed by assignment to a part-time Reserve or National Guard unit (the forces that will play a critical role in homeland security). 4) Easy options for alternate but equally demanding civilian service should be provided, thereby accomodating conscientious objectors and individuals who would be poor military performers. Providing airport security is one area where those opting out of military units could be placed. The costs of increased airport security in the new era will be staggering; they

Lawrence Korb

Why fix something that isn't broken? The answer is that we shouldn't. Nonetheless, two groups advocate a return to a military draft: people who dislike an all-volunteer force, and people who overstate the military demands of a war on terrorism.

Opponents of a volunteer army claim it is too expensive. They assume military costs would drop with a draft because the Pentagon could cut its advertising budget and pay the conscripts subsistence rather than market wages. There is no doubt that military manpower is expensive. This year alone, the Defense Department will spend $83 billion on military personnel.

But reinstating the draft would actually cost more. The average length of service for a volunteer enlistee is four years; most draft proposals call for no more than a two-year hitch. About half of volunteers re-enlist, while only 10 percent of draftees did so the last time we had a draft. Increased training costs could thus make a mixed draft and volunteer force more expensive than an all-volunteer force.

The point is illustrated when one compares our military personnel costs in the last year we had a draft, 1973, to our current costs. Back 29 years ago, military personnel amounted to 33 percent of the budget. This year, the Pentagon will spend about 25 percent of its budget on military personnel. Admittedly, the force is much smaller. But this evidence suggests that promises of significant savings on military pay amidst a draft may not pan out.

Draft advocates argue that a volunteer force allows the children of elites to avoid military service, and thus breaks the connection between the military and society.

People who hold this view seem to have forgotten how many children of the elite managed to avoid active military service even with a draft.

The truth is, the connection between America and our military is stronger than ever today. Witness the concern among Americans about casualties when our armed forces are sent in harm's way.

Draft proponents used to argue that under a volunteer force the public wouldn't care as much about those who were sent abroad to fight America's wars, since American society at

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***MOSKOS** continued*

can be contained only by some form of conscription. Israel currently relies on college-age young adults to do almost all of their airport screening, and they accomplish the job very effectively.

Opponents of the draft argue that the modern military requires a high level of technical skills that cannot be achieved by short-term personnel. Precisely. Higher pay packages should thus be aimed specifically at those career specialists whose skills are most needed, and not squandered on signing bonuses and college aid used in desperation to pull in enough entry-level privates. A two-track pay system could be devised to give long-term enlistees much higher compensation and drafted short-term soldiers much more modest pay.

The need to enhance the compensation of our skilled career force is pressing. We currently overpay new recruits and underpay sergeants, and the result is serious strain. Pay raises and bonuses should be focused on the career force, not on recruits, and this can only be done with conscription. Back when the U.S. had a draft, the pay ratio between a master sergeant and a private was seven to one; today it is less than three to one. Restoring something like the old balance is the best way to upgrade retention in hard-to-fill skills and leadership positions.

The new costs of increased airport security will be staggering; conscription, among its other good effects, can contain them.

Along with a draft, a major redirection is required in the way federal aid operates in higher education. At present, we've created a GI Bill for people who haven't toiled as GIs. Annually, $30 billion in federal grants and subsidies goes to students who never serve their country. In the future, only individuals drafted into our military or alternate civilian service should be eligible for federal subsidies for college.

Even with larger active and reserve military forces, and expanded forms of civilian service, only about half of all eligible U.S. males would probably be needed to serve. How then can a draft be equitable? I suggest we start drafting at the top of the social ladder—who better to serve a short term for their country than those benefitting most from living here?

When the children of our nation's elite perform military service for their country, our national interests will be taken much more seriously. If serving one's country becomes commonplace among privileged young men, the future leaders of our civilian life will have a formative citizenship experience at a critical age. This can only be of advantage to our nation.

Northwestern University professor Charles Moskos, a former draftee, is co-author of The Military: More Than Just a Job?

***KORB** continued*

large would not be bearing the burden of military service.

Yet as any politician can tell you, when America's army goes to war today, all of America goes to war. (Remember, the divisive Vietnam War was fought *with* a draft.)

Our armed services simply do not need everyone. Two million American males turn 18 every year. Since our active and reserve forces currently take in only about 300,000 new recruits annually, it would be a thorny task to decide whom to pass over.

Supporters of a return to conscription often speak of a volunteer army as an aberration. The fact of the matter is, in all U.S. history, there has only been a draft for about 35 years.

Even during the Cold War conscription lasted just 25 years. For the other 30 years of our successful struggle against communism we recruited on an all-volunteer basis.

None of this is meant to argue that the all-volunteer force is a perfect system. It would indeed be better if the nation had a system of universal military service. But, the armed services simply do not need everyone.

Today, our active and reserve forces take in about 300,000 new recruits each year. Meanwhile, some 2 million American men annually turn 18. It would be a thorny task to decide whom to draft and whom to exempt.

Some argue the terrorist attacks on New York and Washington mean this nation should go on a wartime footing, which in our other great wars included a draft. But this war will not be like the war against the Axis powers or the Cold War. In addition to the 1.4 million people on active duty, the U.S. armed forces have some 800,000 reservists.

It is hard to imagine a situation in the war against terrorism that could not be handled by the more than 2 million volunteers already in our forces.

The all-volunteer force has given us the most professional and competent military in our history. Even in the booming economy of the 1990s, it managed to attract and retain high-quality people. Volunteers performed successfully in the Gulf War and are still doing an excellent job in the Balkans and around the globe. They will carry out their missions in the war against terrorism.

Why mess with success?

Former Assistant Secretary of Defense Lawrence Korb is an officer of the Council on Foreign Relations and a retired Navy captain.

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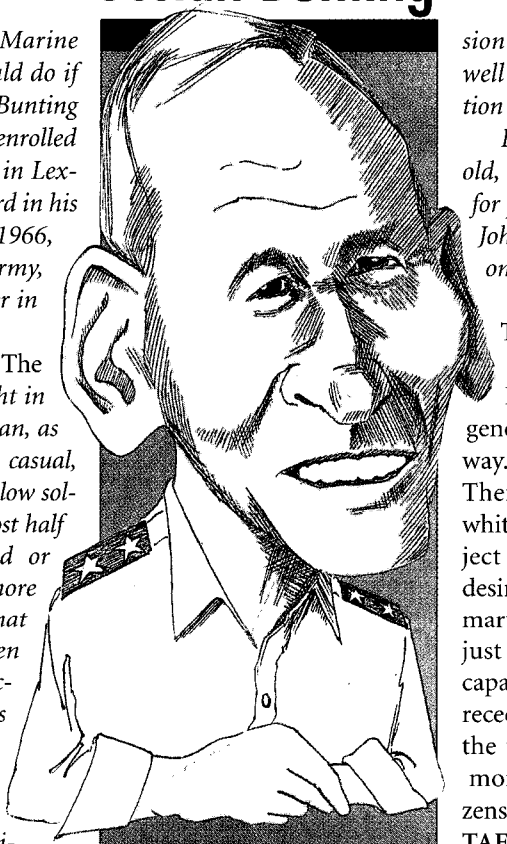
"Live with TAE

He's both a soldier and a scholar. A gentleman and a democrat. An admirer of high achievement and a critic of credentialism. A proponent of boxing and piano playing. Meet a sterling educator.

Josiah Bunting



There are no snobs at VMI. This is the ultimate leveling experiment. And it lasts a lifetime.

In 1957, Josiah Bunting enlisted in the Marine Corps. "It was the kind of thing you would do if you had something to prove to yourself," Bunting once remarked. After the proof was in, he enrolled at the Virginia Military Institute (VMI) in Lexington, where he eventually graduated third in his class and won a Rhodes scholarship. In 1966, Bunting began a six-year career in the Army, including six months on the Mekong River in Vietnam.

In 1974, Bunting wrote a novel entitled The Lionheads, *a paean to the GIs who fought in southeast Asia. "They were utterly American, as American as a tall man with a crew-cut… casual, loose-jointed, confident," he wrote of his fellow soldiers. "They knew what was coming. Almost half their company had already been killed or wounded, and they were going back for more because they were ordered to. The thing that got to you was that last year they had been taking cars apart in Pittsfield or driving tractors outside Bismarck or sinking jump shots in the gym in Cedar Rapids."*

Bunting then migrated toward academic life, teaching at West Point and the Naval War College, and becoming the president of Briarcliff College, a women's school in New York, in 1973. In 1977, he was appointed president of Hampden-Sydney College in Virginia, an all-male school drenched in the Southern gentleman tradition. Bunting later became headmaster of a New Jersey prep school, then in 1995 returned to head VMI, just as the U.S. Supreme Court decided to force the institution to admit women.

Bunting's time in the academic world was the catalyst for two books: In 1998's An Education for Our Time, *a fictional wealthy businessman sets out to create a college devoted to things absent from today's higher education.* All Loves Excelling, *published this year, is a novel about a girl at an elite boarding school who aims to attend Dartmouth College, and all the pressures that go with such aspirations. Bunting manages to make the book a searing indictment of America's obsession with ambition, status, and credentials, as well as a behind-the-scenes look at the degradation of our teaching system.*

Bunting, a father of four, and now 62 years old, runs long distances and plays classical piano for pleasure. He spoke with TAE *associate editor John Meroney in the superintendent's residence on the VMI campus.*

TAE: How have the terrorist attacks of September 11 affected the cadets?

BUNTING: The cadets are members of a generation that has had things pretty much its way. There is no military draft. There is MTV. There's also—so it appears to them—a broad white canvas on which to paint any career, project any ambition, and indulge almost any desire. "Hell, I'll do whatever I want" is their primary view of the future. That presumption has just absorbed a deep shock. But the American capacity to sustain resolve—once the threat has receded a bit—is uncertain. For this generation, the tragedy and its long aftermath, the summons to their patriotism and notions of citizenship, may be ignorable. I do not know.

TAE: No doubt the cadets here at VMI will respond to the crisis differently than will their peers in the civilian world.

BUNTING: Well, about 40 to 50 percent of them will be commissioned directly into the military, many of them this coming May. Plainly, their lives will be very directly and constantly altered.

TAE: What is their mood?

BUNTING: Somber and determined. They were powerfully touched by President Bush's speech to Congress in September, and they understand they're in it for a long haul. It's useful to remember that they were born when Ronald Reagan was President; they have no memory whatever of Vietnam—which is as remote to them as World War I is to many of us.

TAE: What lessons did Vietnam teach us that the nation can apply to this new war?

Illustration by Lucinda S. Levine

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BUNTING: We never really understood the depth of our enemy's determination to win. General Giap once said something like, "You Americans consistently underestimated the price we were willing to pay in order to prevail." We must expend great effort to learn everything there is to know about our enemy.

I also hope we have learned that you don't win wars by "sending a message" to an adversary. I hope we've learned something about the occasional necessity of bearing very high costs, human and material, over a long period. Our country expects its wars to be moral crusades in which spasms of military action attain overwhelming results early. That cannot be in the current instance.

TAE: Earlier this year, VMI made news when two cadets sued the school, complaining that an organized prayer said before supper violates their Constitutional rights.

BUNTING: On week nights, the first captain of cadets calls the corps to attention, after which an officer recites something like this: "For what we are about to receive, make us truly thankful. Look after the Institute. Favor the aspirations of our country. Amen." It's the ultimate Norman Rockwell apple pie prayer. It isn't sectarian. It's connected with our VMI heritage, and also with the heritage of this country. Its provenance goes back to 1630 with John Winthrop in Massachusetts Bay. It simply says that we inhabit a favored country which, so far, a beneficent Providence has seen fit to sustain. That's who we're thanking.

TAE: The cadets here are intensely loyal to VMI. Why would they sue their school?

BUNTING: I can't speculate on what motivated them. Often I feel just like Nick Carraway in *The Great Gatsby* when he says he's become a magnet for "the secret griefs of wild, unknown men." One of these cadets is a Lutheran, the other a Catholic. I take them at their word that this is brought with integrity, but I regard the suit as preposterous and frivolous. Lawyers with the American Civil Liberties Union are representing them.

TAE: In *An Education for Our Time* you draw up, through your fictional mouthpiece, a blueprint for a college unlike any other. What was your impetus?

BUNTING: A book editor was talking to me about Cardinal Newman's *The Idea of a University* and asked, "Have you ever thought about doing the same thing in our country? Would you consider designing an ideal American college based on the things you seem to believe in?" This was one assignment I had spent my entire life preparing for. I tried to create a plan for preparing virtuous citizens who would be the leaders of tomorrow.

Our country expects its wars to be moral crusades in which spasms of military action attain overwhelming results early. That cannot be in the current instance.

TAE: How successful is VMI at producing that type of graduate?

BUNTING: We're very close to what I described in the book, and we do a better job than any place in the western world, with the exception of religious seminaries. In fact, one of the models I used for *An Education for Our Time* is a Benedictine monastery.

TAE: VMI is Virginia's version of a monastery?

BUNTING: We're trying to explore the hinterland between intellect and character. I'm interested in that terrain. I want to make what we learn and believe bite down deeply enough so that it superintends our conduct. VMI strives to lodge a set of standards in the personal habits and consciences of these cadets.

TAE: If one encounters a VMI graduate who's a stockbroker, lawyer, or businessman, how will he be different from a Harvard graduate in the same profession?

BUNTING: Reliably, almost universally, the VMI man will be characterized by absolute integrity, a ferocity of opinion, an independence, and a willingness to stand up and say what he believes. VMI is also a terrific arbiter of democracy because of the cadets' living conditions. There are no snobs here. This is the ultimate leveling experiment. And it lasts a lifetime.

TAE: The youth of the '60s certainly had a "ferocity of opinion" about any number of issues, especially as compared to many of today's young people. Is it better to be passionate about issues than to be uninterested, even if you are wrong?

BUNTING: "The '60s" has become a slipshod synonym for what happened between the years 1967 and 1970. Up until 1965 was a glittering time to be a young person in America. It was a period of noble idealism: There was the Peace Corps, the Green Berets, and this notion that intellect could do great things in the world. But in the aftermath of Vietnam, Watergate, and the Alan Alda man of the '70s, what did we get? Everyone seemed to say, "I'm going to become rich—and to hell with everyone else!" We're still living with the consequences of that. Millions of people are obsessed with the little stock market shifts from second to second, with nothing better to do than figure out their personal net worth.

TAE: Earlier this year, *The Atlantic Monthly* published a cover story about students at Princeton, depicting them as the future workaholics of America. They believe they don't have time to read newspapers, follow politics, and get involved in political activism. Dating is rare. If

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they have sex with someone, it's called "friendship with privileges."

BUNTING: Well, he's correct so far as romance is concerned: It no longer exists.

TAE: As a former headmaster of a prep school that supplies Princeton with a fair number of students, does this ring true?

BUNTING: In ways it's a fair picture. Compared to the Princeton classes of 1925 and 1945, today's students are much more occupied. But today's kids carve out very big chunks of time for themselves that you and I and reporters don't know about.

I went to graduate school at Oxford, where a great premium was placed on being perceived as a man of leisure. If you were seen working, you were regarded as the ultimate dork; the ideal was to be perceived as brilliant without studying. The American ideal, of course, is to be perceived as brilliant and constantly working.

Incidentally, the word "leisure" comes from the Latin stem word "licere," meaning "to be free." It doesn't mean lying on the beach. It is time to do what you really want to.

TAE: What's your opinion of the 1990s?

BUNTING: Americans became obsessive about possessions and items of fame. I'm certain that if Alexis de Tocqueville were writing about America now, he would take note of the unbelievable proliferation of televised awards programs. There are the Oscars, Emmys, Grammys, and what seem to be about a hundred others. Ambition for riches or fame can block development of intellect and character. President John Adams, for one contrary example, would acknowledge only posthumous fame as an appropriate reward for work.

TAE: The Clintons often seemed to be the First Celebrities more than the First Family.

BUNTING: Of course. For some time, Americans have tended to confound celebrity with character and even leadership. Many people now think a good leader is someone who's a celebrity.

For example, several years ago, when the Baltimore Orioles were having a difficult season, the manager said to shortstop Cal Ripken, whom we all admire, "You've got to come forward and lead us in the locker room." Ripken replied, "I'm not that kind of a guy." He leads quietly, by example. Somehow, there's this notion that if one gains fame, particularly as vindicated by television appearances, then he must be some sort of a leader.

TAE: President Bush has shown he can be incredibly powerful when he speaks formally, such as in the speech he delivered to Congress declaring war on terrorism. What do you think accounts for his difficulty with conveying the same conviction in impromptu settings?

BUNTING: There are many people in democratic history who were quiet, circumspect, and weren't eloquent or articulate but who were incredibly strong and capable in times of stress. And I'd much rather be led by *those* people than ones who have an admirable facility with words but little else to offer.

TAE: Historian Joseph Ellis was exposed this year for systematically lying to his Mt. Holyoke students, claiming, among other things, that he'd been in combat in Vietnam. If Ellis had been a professor here at VMI, what would have happened to him?

BUNTING: Well, with our honor system and tradition, Joseph Ellis wouldn't stay here for very long.

TAE: While most colleges and universities look at grades and SAT scores as the primary basis for admission, you seem to place special emphasis on whether a candidate has carved out a particular "passion" for himself. Why is that important to you?

BUNTING: There are a number of characteristics in people that are very important, and I feel that chief among them are a capacity for wonder, an independence of temper, and a willingness to take lonely positions. Here at VMI, I found that one of the best predictive qualities in a prospective cadet is the attainment of Eagle Scout rank—it shows a tenacity of purpose.

TAE: But the things you're talking about can't really be quantified, while grades and SAT scores represent actual concrete evidence.

BUNTING: Strong avocations—artistic, literary, whatever—show something about one's capacities for doing and thinking that can't be measured by credentialing agencies. I'm always interested when I read about a person such as Malcolm Frager, a concert pianist who's also a professor of English at Columbia. A profound interest in aesthetics shows me a capacity for wonder and emotional sympathy. All of the professions need that.

TAE: Don't the "experts" tend to say otherwise?

BUNTING: "Nothing is so deeply inculcated by the experience of history as that you must never trust experts." Lord Salisbury said that. Look, in national disasters, one of the first figures who inevitably emerges is a so-called "grief counselor." *What does that mean?* If we lose the capacity to respond to crises ourselves, and we're not sufficiently the masters of our own emotional

For some time, Americans have tended to confound celebrity with character and even leadership. Many people now think a good leader is someone who's a celebrity.

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and intellectual beings, then we're in really big trouble.

TAE: Is it pretty safe to assume that Josiah Bunting isn't a cheerleader for the College Board?

BUNTING: I think the SAT is of some modest value when used in concert with a number of other measurements. It mainly assesses the likelihood of a student succeeding in a tough freshman curriculum in a new academic setting, especially one where there's heavy-duty reading in literature, history, and philosophy. Beyond that, I wouldn't give the SAT much efficacy. When I meet someone who just achieved a perfect 1600 score on the SAT I almost always find him curiously non-verbal and not particularly interesting. I wonder how the ability to excel at very fine analogical distinctions—*gray is to maroon as indecisive is to (a) confident (b) cocksure (c) diffident (d) uncertain*—can prove one's fitness.

TAE: In your novel *All Loves Excelling,* one of the characters says that the SAT reminds him of crossword puzzles. Those who do well at them often don't amount to anything.

BUNTING: Imagine Konrad Adenauer, Winston Churchill, and George Marshall—the really great men of contemporary Western society, particularly in government. They had a kind of wisdom that eludes academic success.

It's become a chestnut topic of cocktail conversation: "Smith had a C-minus average when he was at Wake Forest and now he's the head of Brown Brothers Harriman. How could that be?" Everybody shrugs and somebody says, "Well, he had common sense. Get me another drink." And the conversation ends. People don't want to fasten on that. But wisdom that grows over time has many sources other than academic acuity.

We run after success which exalts us over our neighbor. It's like they've flooded the atmosphere with cocaine and Ecstasy. All the soccer moms have to get in their Lexus and take the kid down to an SAT cram course because if they don't, Mary Jane next door is going to have a 1340, and poor Amanda—she only scored a 1290. *What is going to happen?* Amanda may have to go to Hamilton instead of Bates. *Oh my God!* Is Mary Jane at Bates? Where's your college bumper sticker?

TAE: Parents feed this.

BUNTING: Indeed they do. Headmasters occasionally have to throw people out of school. But today you'd better have Simpson, Thacher & Bartlett standing behind you—and maybe a few armed guards, too. Parents now have an overwhelming prejudice in favor of the kid, no matter how terrible he's become. I was thrown out of the Hill School when I was 15 or 16 and I richly deserved it. It was because of excessive demerits—real '50s stuff that probably included smoking. I remember my father being very hard on me and shaking hands with the headmaster. Those days are over.

TAE: In *All Loves Excelling,* you paint a disturbing picture of a boarding school student who becomes hooked on antidepressants.

BUNTING: The prevailing wisdom seems to be that if medicinal drugs can be the servitors of our desire to excel in ways that can be measured by credentials, then they should be taken. The classic drug that I describe in the book is Inderal, which is used to slow the heart rate. Doctors connive in this: Paxil, Xanax, Prozac—they're drugs that are now being widely prescribed by kindly family practitioners. "She's nervous and has some serious worries about things. Why don't we start her out on this?" Pretty soon, that view leads to dependency. It also leads to aggressive trafficking among students.

TAE: Boxing is probably one of the most politically incorrect sports going. Why are all students at VMI required to take a class in it?

BUNTING: Boxing as an athletic art has a provenance of three or four thousand years. It tests a number of physical, emotional, and moral qualities: One must put oneself in harm's way to score. It requires staying cool in a situation of superficial danger. Plus, boxers have to be flexible, strong, and aerobically fit. All of those are good qualities to inculcate. It's politically incorrect because there's this notion that nobody should unnecessarily put himself in harm's way in the year 2001—we all should live to be 350. When we have a military campaign we brag about only having one casualty out of the 50,000 troops who are engaged.

TAE: But isn't that something to celebrate?

BUNTING: Hey, I wish we didn't have any casualties, but America has become obsessed with safety, disallowing any threat to our health even when the activity produces other good effects. The idea of a sport in which people are superficially hurt, and where there's a clearly identifiable loser, is now really obnoxious to some people.

TAE: Tell us why a 1955 film called *The Bridges at Toko-Ri* starring William Holden and Grace Kelly is one of your favorite pictures.

BUNTING: I like it because it's the moving story of a man who has everything and yet makes the ultimate sacrifice. Holden plays a World War II veteran; he's also a husband and father. He's again called up for military duty when South Korea is invaded. Soon, he's flying Navy planes off the deck of a carrier, fighting an enemy in a country that most Americans know little about. He's under terrible conditions of danger and privation, and eventually is killed in the line of duty. "Where do we get such men as these?" is one of the great lines in the film. Where did we get the 15,000 men in Pickett's division who crossed that open field at Gettysburg? They were heroes because they thought, "This is my obligation." In my heart of hearts, I'm hopeful those same kinds of men are still out there in abundance, in Phillipsburg, Kansas, and Scottsbluff, Nebraska. Places where people are still anchored.

TAE: So how does the question posed by *The Bridges at Toko-Ri* apply to today's men and women being called to defend the United States?

BUNTING: It applies fully and directly. Remember, those who'll be prosecuting this effort in uniform will be regulars and active Reservists, not draftees. The active Reservists, some already being called up, are of the same *métier* as the young Navy flier played by William Holden. They are us. Some will pay the final price; and they will understand the terrible sacrifice that they must make; but they will make it, if they have to. In a sense, these reserve forces, a million strong, have already committed themselves. Most know in their bones the wisdom of Housman: "Luck's a chance, but trouble's sure." Here comes trouble.

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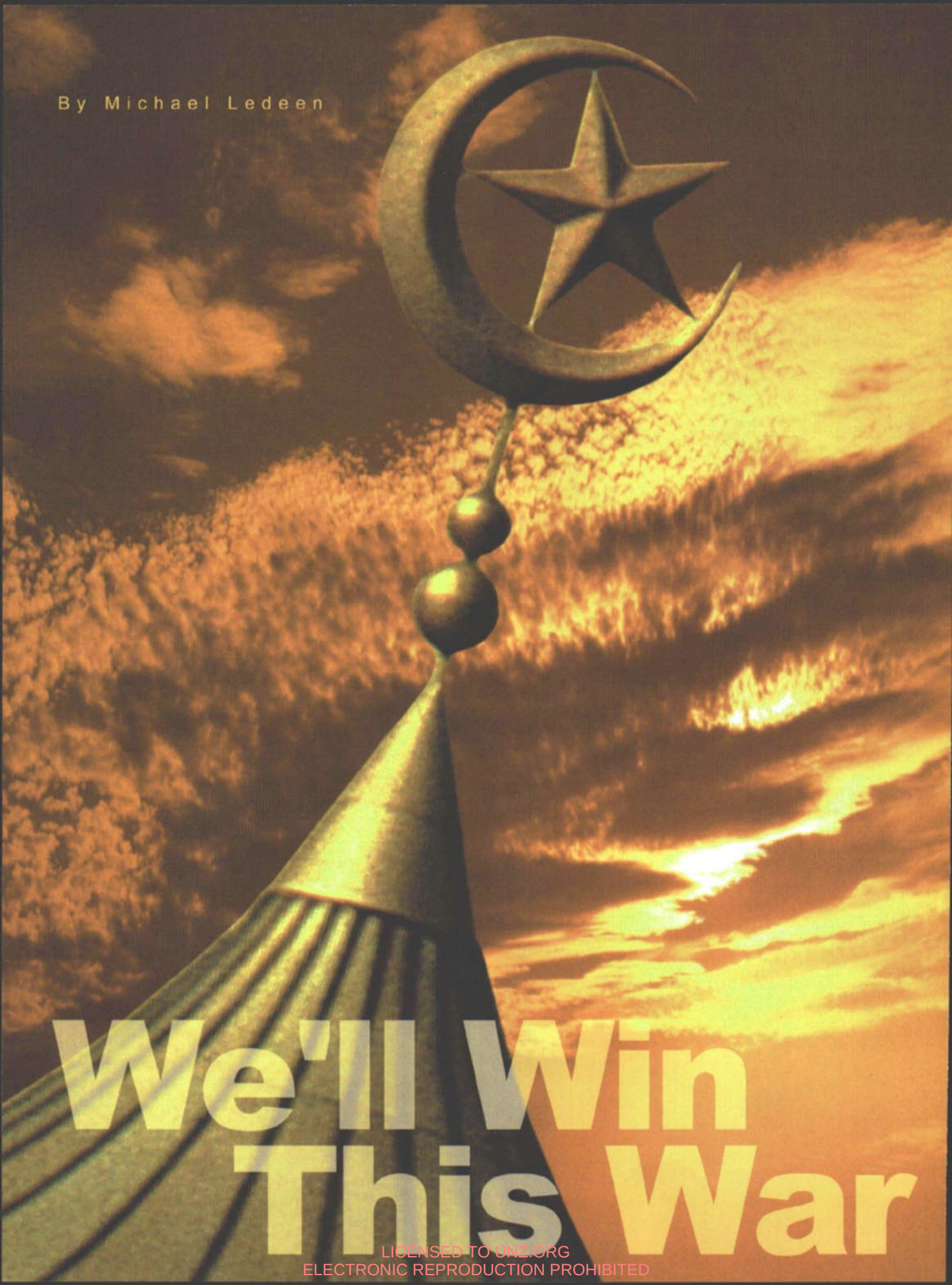

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The conventional mantra is that today's war on terrorism is a new kind of war, unlike those we have fought in the past. But that's not true.

> "Our enemies hate America's whirlwind of creativity, which shames them for their inability to keep pace."

We are currently waging a very old kind of war, and, as luck would have it, one that fits our national character and our unique military and political genius to a T. This is a revolutionary war, right out of the eighteenth century. While we will have to act quickly and urgently against secret terrorist organizations and suicidal fighters, our ultimate targets are tyrannical governments, and our most devastating weapons are the peoples they oppress.

In the Second World War, we defeated Japanese kamikazes in two ways: by fending them off more effectively, and by destroying the Tokyo regime. In like manner, we must both dismantle the terror network and destroy the regimes that have enabled them to become so threatening. Those who talk in abstract terms about various "stages" in this war, as if the two objectives were logically or strategically distinct, miss the point. We cannot destroy the terror network without bringing down the regimes, just as we could not end the siege of kamikaze terror without bringing down Tojo and his murderous state.

We have almost all the necessary weapons at hand, from our brilliant technological network of eyes in the sky and ears embedded in the world's telecom networks, to smart weapons and high-radiation devices and stealth aircraft. We have excellent Special Forces who can operate under the most difficult conditions and respond to rapidly changing circumstances. Don't believe the stories about our inability to operate in an Afghan winter. This is not the Light Brigade.

Even more important—and this is a weapon that is greatly underestimated by many of our intellectuals and diplomats—we are an awesome revolutionary force. Creative destruction is our middle name. We tear down the old order every day, in business and science, literature, art and cinema, politics and the law. Our present enemies hate this whirlwind of energy and creativity, which menaces their traditions and shames them for their inability to keep pace. Seeing America undo old conventions, they fear us, for they do not wish to be undone. They cannot feel secure so long as we are there, for our very existence—not our policies—threatens their legitimacy. They must attack us in order to survive, just as we must destroy them to advance our historic mission.

Behind all the anti-American venom from the secular radicals in Baghdad, the religious fanatics in Tehran, the minority regime in Damascus, and the kleptomaniacs in the Palestinian Authority, is the knowledge that they are hated by their own people. How could it be otherwise? Their power rests on terror directed against their citizens.

Given the chance to express themselves freely, the Iraqi, Iranian, Syrian, and Palestinian people would overturn their current oppressors. Properly waged, our revolutionary war will give them a chance to achieve exactly this. You need only listen to the screams of the Middle Eastern tyrants to realize that they fully understand the import of the struggle.

There is every reason to believe we will succeed in revolutionizing the Middle East, for we have always excelled at destroying tyrannies. The great democratic uprising at the end of the eighteenth century bore a clear American hallmark, and the entire twentieth century stands as tribute to the enormous power of our history-changing energies. Again and again we were dragged into war, and we invariably tossed our enemies onto history's trash heap of failed lies. We wage total war, because we fight in the name of an idea—freedom—and ideas either triumph or fail. Ask Mikhail Gorbachev.

We even overthrow tyrants when it is not our official aim. In the 1980s, President Reagan instructed the CIA to organize some Nicaraguans to disrupt the flow of weapons from Nicaragua to the Communist guerillas in El Salvador. The operation envisaged at most a few hundred people. But once American officials went into the field to recruit, thousands of anti-Communists, assuming this was the beginning of the end for the Sandinista regime in Nicaragua, raced to volunteer. They ultimately forced the Sandinistas to fight for their survival, and in time the regime fell.

George W. Bush has understood the scope of our task from the first minute, and I have no doubt that the assault on the Taliban tyranny in Afghanistan, and on the other terrorist regimes in the region, will be total. This is not a manhunt, it is the opening salvo of a great revolutionary war that will transform the Middle East. The president has started well, combining the destruction of Taliban infrastructure with near-simultaneous air drops of food and medicine to the tens of thousands of suffering refugees. Our message couldn't be clearer: We offer succor to the suffering Afghan people, and death to their evil leaders. That's what revolutionary warfare is all about—encouraging a popular insurrection, then supporting it.

We do not have all the weapons, however. Revolution requires revolutionary leaders, and some of these are lacking. There seem to be at least the elements of a transitional regime in Afghanistan, including the Northern Alliance, some other anti-Taliban forces, and the long-suffering king waiting his call in Rome. I am one of those who thought we should have supported Massoud, the charismatic Northern Alliance leader who was assassinated by a suicide killer just two days before September 11, because he was the only one of the fighters who seemed to me to have the requisite leadership qualities. Lacking that kind of leader, the next Afghan government is likely to be transient.

There is no reason for us to be overly worried about that, though. Yes, I know that our diplomats hate "instability," but most Americans are not only able to cope with it, they go out of their way to create it. Stability is for those older, burnt-out countries, not for the American dynamo. And chaos is vastly

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preferable to the vicious tyrannical stability that has crushed and impoverished the people of Afghanistan.

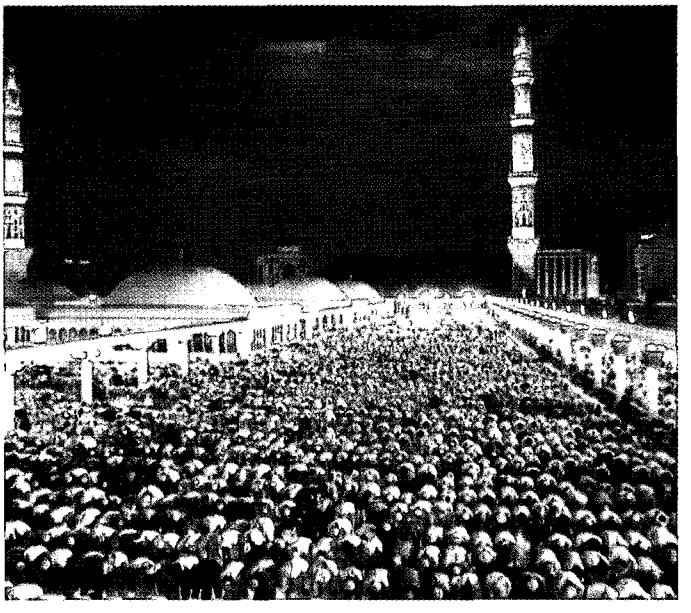
In Iraq, we have long pretended to support the Iraqi National Congress and its leader Ahmed Chalabi, a man at once democratic and tough-minded, whose family has played a major role in regional politics for nearly 500 years. The Clinton administration gave the INC some money and CIA advice, and promised to defend them if Saddam moved against their haven in the north. They did well enough to provoke Saddam into a risky throw of the dice: In the mid 1990s he sent the bulk of his tanks into the north, exposing them to our airpower. Clinton had plenty of advance warning, sufficient for the National Security Council to reiterate our promise to defend Chalabi, and he warned Saddam of a harsh response if Iraq invaded the north.

> "Our ultimate targets are tyrannical governments, and our most devastating weapons are the people they oppress."

But at the moment of truth the Clinton administration abandoned our friends; the INC was massacred, and the survivors went into exile. The bad news is that we betrayed good allies. The good news is that a remnant of the INC force lived to fight again another day. And Saddam's risky strike against them shows that he takes their threat seriously.

Congress took up the cudgels and, toward the end of the Clinton years, appropriated money for the Iraqi resistance. One might have expected the new Bush administration to vigorously support this, but the State Department fought tooth and nail against commitments to the Iraqi National Congress, dribbling out a tiny fraction of the appropriated funds, and then only for administrative expenses and the production of a bit of propaganda. Moreover, our diplomats warned Chalabi against spending one penny for in-country activities. Those restrictions must be immediately removed; the Iraqi people need to see there is a real alternative, on the ground, to Saddam's grotesque regime.

Can a group like the INC, given American assistance, catalyze a successful insurrection against a murderous regime? This is the key question for our policy makers, and it applies to all the terrorist states. The answer is, we don't know. But our experiences in Central America in the 1980s give reason for optimism. The lesson from Nicaragua is that the world changes quickly once people see that the United States is seriously engaged.



In Iraq, the spontaneous uprisings of diverse portions of the population at the end of the Gulf War—from the Kurds in the north to the Shi'ites in the south—are evidence that the oppressed people of that country would love to destroy Saddam's regime. There are similar indications elsewhere in the region.

In Iran, there are many brave people who have risked, and often lost, their lives to challenge the mullahcracy, ranging from the outspoken students at Tehran University to the more cautious reformers who have taken shelter under the robes of President Khatami. We broadcast words of hope to the Iranian people from freedom-minded exiles through our Radio Freedom satellite, which greatly disturbs the ayatollahs. But this is not nearly enough. We must announce our support for Iranian democrats, and our unrelenting rejection of the theocracy that has, at least as much as any other, provided the wherewithal for international terrorism.

In Syria, too, there is every reason to expect great public support for a campaign to remove the Assad regime. Here again the evidence comes from the most reliable source: the regime itself. Some years ago, Hafez al Assad crushed dissent in the city of Hama, killing as many as 20,000 people, then bulldozing the evidence into the dirt. Any regime compelled to assert its legitimacy in such a violent manner is profoundly insecure, and that insecurity is invariably based on hard knowledge of popular discontent.

In Sudan, a nasty civil war has been raging for years, and our slowly increasing pressure on the Islamic regime in Khartoum—which has been killing the southern Christians and animists—seems to be working. It may be possible to impose an end to the north's military campaign, demand active cooperation in intelligence sharing, terminate Sudanese support for terrorist groups (and the surrender of any terrorists), and permit the creation of an independent state in the south, in exchange for a guarantee that we will not do to Sudan what we have done to Afghanistan.

If we had a CIA worthy of the name we would know more about the brave people in Iran and Iraq, as well as in Syria and Sudan, and of course the Palestinians who groan under Arafat's corrupt tyranny. All realize they can live better, and we should be supporting them in that quest. Alas, we are reluctant nation-builders. We had no alternative to Saddam during the Gulf War, just as we were unprepared for the political battles that followed the fall of Nazism, the Japanese warlords, and the Soviet Empire.

This time there is no excuse. There are people ready to fight for our common objectives behind enemy lines, if only we get to work. We must wage revolutionary war against all the terrorist regimes, and gradually replace them with governments that turn to their own people's freely expressed desires as the basis of their political legitimacy.

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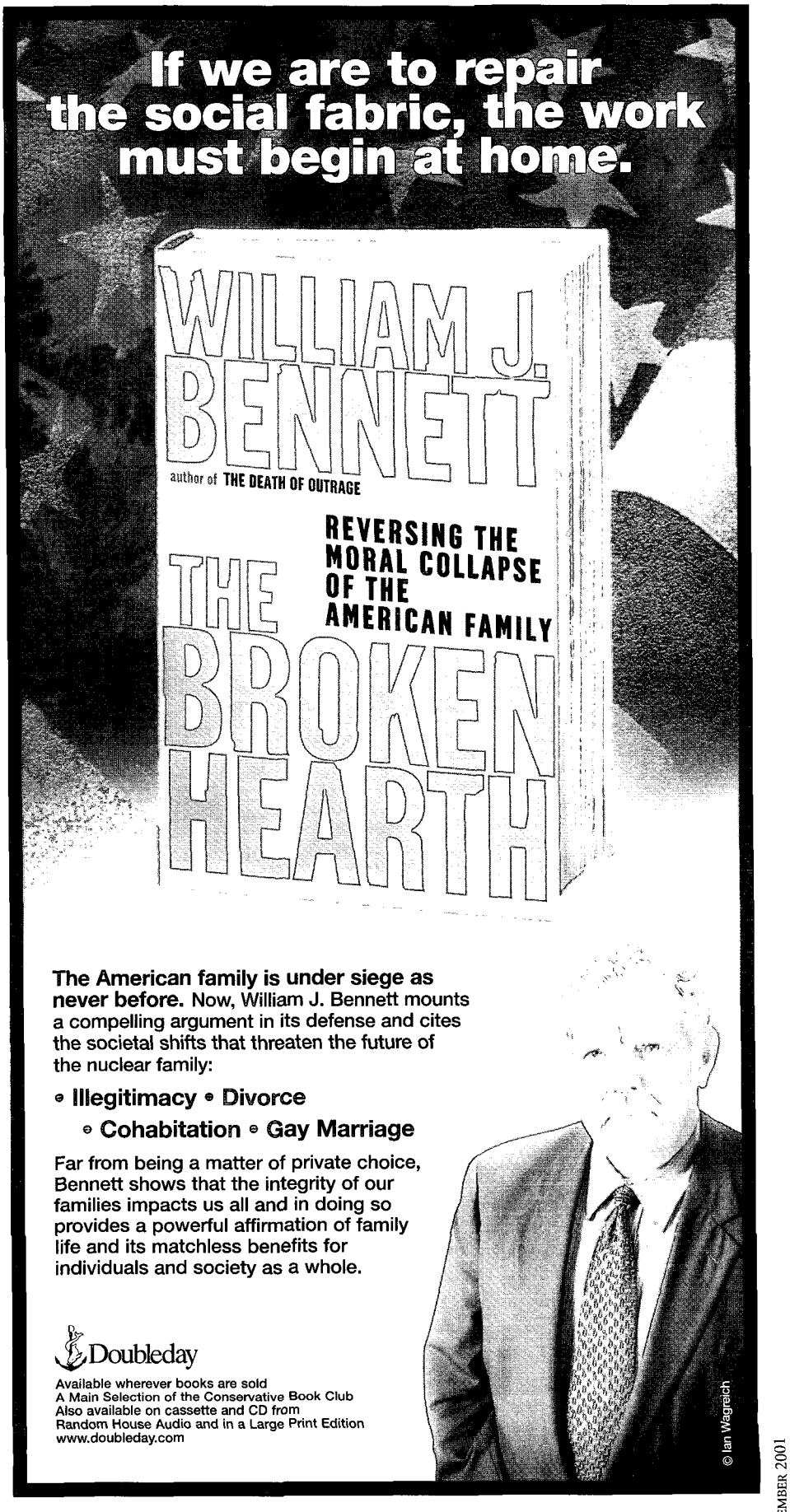
That leaves Saudi Arabia. Back in the 1970s, at the time of the fall of the Shah of Iran, our Middle East strategy was said to rest on two pillars: Iranian military power, and Saudi money. The Shah fell for two reasons. First, he lacked the will to fight for his own survival when challenged by religious fanatics. Second, he got caught in the transition between traditional society and a more modern one: Iran was insufficiently liberal to fulfill the desires of the westernizing middle class, and insufficiently hard-line to satisfy those who feared modernization. So the Shah pleased no one.

I have long argued that the United States is obliged to work with friendly dictators to achieve successful transitions to societies more in keeping with American values. We should insist on steady liberalization at the same time we provide full support to the friendly tyrants if they are challenged by forces that will make things even worse. Saudi Arabia offers us a great second chance to succeed in the region after our failure with the Shah. There is certainly a Westernizing middle class beneath the arch-reactionary veneer of the Wahabi tyrants who have been the primary source of funding and religious proselytizing for Islamic extremists in the Middle East. We should offer the Saudi ruling elite our support for their survival—provided they become a moderate Islamic regime in practice, not just words.

Saudi Arabia is the most difficult challenge, and the most important, and for those reasons it is the policy crisis that our diplomats most often decline to address. But if we pursue revolutionary war against terrorist regimes, our ability to influence events in Saudi Arabia will greatly increase. If we understand our mission rightly, we will find myriad opportunities to help the Saudis move in productive directions.

We have a glorious opportunity to improve life on our planet, and we are the right people, at the right time, to pull it off. The most dangerous threat to our success is limited vision and insufficient ambition. If we act like the revolutionary force we truly are, we can once again reshape the world, as we repeatedly did throughout the last century. But if we settle for token victories and limited accomplishments, we will permit our enemies to reorganize, and attack us with even greater venom in the future.

We do not want a replay of the Gulf War. This time we must fight for keeps.



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Why They Hate Us

It's a Moral Clash

By Karina Rollins

In *Mere Christianity*, C. S. Lewis sketches the existence of universally accepted notions of right and wrong—the moral laws of nature. Regardless of differing cultures, eras, and creeds, he argues, humans have always shared certain basic moral values. "Think of a country," Lewis challenges, "where people were admired for running away in battle, or where a man felt proud of double crossing all the people who had been kindest to him. You might just as well try to imagine a country where two and two made five."

September 11, 2001 has strained Mr. Lewis's theorem.

Major U.S. landmarks were attacked specifically for the large number of innocent people they housed, in an attempt to bring devastation to American soil and despair to the American soul. An unspeakable plan was carried out not by demented individuals but by disciplined representatives of a swelling cultural ideology that germinates hatred toward the entire free world. The numerous societies where this ideology has rooted now breed men filled with a loathing of such intensity, such scope, such depraved grandeur, that the human beings beset by it hardly seem to walk and breathe within the laws of nature that C. S. Lewis took for granted.

Since the attacks on the Twin Towers and the Pentagon, politicians and editorialists have made it a point to assure Muslims around the world that the West does not blame them for the perversities carried out in their name. They are right to do so. Though few Muslims seem to be agonizing over America's grief, there is no reason to convict every Muslim of being hostile to Western lives.

It is a grave and dangerous mistake, however, to leap from the fact that most individual Muslims are innocent to the notion that the societies in which they live are benign. The record of Muslim nations across the world is hardly one of peace and tranquility. As British historian Paul Johnson has noted, "Islam means 'submission'...and one of the functions of Islam, in its more militant aspect, is to obtain that submission from all, if necessary by force."

"Islam is not the enemy!" is the slogan Americans are force-fed daily. When President Bush spoke at the Islamic Center in Washington, D.C. shortly after the terror attacks, he said that America is "a great country because we share the same values of respect and dignity and human worth. And it is my honor to be meeting with leaders who feel just the same way I do. They're outraged, they're sad. They love America just as much as I do."

But is this true? There is no evidence that the Muslims living in America are necessarily all great patriots. Indeed, we know that a number of poisonously militant Islamic congregations now meet on American soil in numerous locations. Even among the leaders of such moderate Muslim groups as the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) and the American Muslim Council (AMC), the main priority in the terrorist aftermath has been to protest "hate crimes," some real, some imagined, against Muslims and Arabs in the U.S.

Nor did these mainstream Islamic organizations show much star-spangled patriotism in earlier terror incidents. As Jake Tapper reports in *Salon*, CAIR included the court conviction of Omar Adbul-Rahman (the mastermind of the 1993 World Trade Center bombing) on a list of "hate crimes against Muslims." In 1994, the director of the AMC expressed his views on the 1993 convictions in a letter to AMC members: "I believe that the judge went out of his way to punish the defendants harshly and with vengeance, and to a large extent because they were Muslim." These words about terrorists who, as Tapper reminds, "differ

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from the September 11 bombers only in efficiency."

While President Bush's comments were well-intended, they were baseless assertions. It may be true that most individual Muslims living in America sincerely love this country. But it is a fact that as of the printing of this issue no major Muslim group in America has spoken out against terrorism without qualification.

"Islam is an imperialist religion," Paul Johnson explains, noting that the Koran encourages believers to battle non-Muslims "until they embrace Islam." In recent years, adherents have brought this tendency to the fore in an especially politicized form of the Muslim religion. Scholars call it Islamism, which Martin Kramer of Tel Aviv University defines as "Islam reformulated as a modern ideology."

Daniel Pipes, director of the Middle East Forum, states that "Islamists see their adherence to Islam primarily as a form of political allegiance. Though usually pious Muslims, they need not be. Plenty of Islamists seem in fact to be rather impious." Those who assume that the vodka-swilling, porn-buying, nude-club-visiting September 11 hijackers couldn't possibly be devoted to any Islamic cause should be interested to learn that Ramzi Yousef, major planner of the first Trade Center bombing in 1993, spent his time in the Philippines "gallivanting around Manila's bars, strip-joints, and karaoke clubs, flirting with women." Osama bin Laden, too, is reported to have been a regular in the nightclubs of Beirut during the period when his Islamic fervor was blooming.

> "The September 11 attacks were not the result of 19 individual sick minds, but of sick societies."

Islamic extremists may constitute only a minor percentage of the worldwide Muslim population; certainly it is true that not all Muslims support terrorists. But all of today's terrorists bent on destroying Western civilization are Muslims. The actions of September 11 were not the result of 19 individual sick minds, but of sick societies. Yes, horrible monsters spring from Christian nations as well. But the vital distinction lies in how societies respond to their evildoers. America executed Timothy McVeigh. Large parts of the societies from whence sprang the September 11 hijackers celebrated them as martyrs.

The leaders and supporters of the Soviet Union, as glaring and massive a threat to world freedom as they were, still held the basic moral assumptions about human life that C. S. Lewis believed universal. The most vile Communists, indifferent to the human tragedies they helped create, still cared whether their family members lived or died. That's why Mutual Assured Destruction—the Cold War gospel that neither side would launch a nuclear attack so long as it was clear that doing so would bring a deadly counterattack—worked.

MAD won't work with our latest enemies. There is nothing with which to threaten them, because there is nothing they fear. They *want* to die for the sacred cause of exterminating Americans, Jews, and Westerners. They know no mercy. They attack civilians, women, even children as indifferently as soldiers. They do not care how many of their own people suffer and die. A day after the attacks on New York and Washington, the civilian population of Kabul began to flee Afghanistan's capital for fear of U.S. retaliation. The Taliban, instead of being concerned for the safety of its citizens—the majority of whom are likely too ignorant, poor, and miserable to have even heard of the Twin Towers before—urged the wretched masses to stay and fight—i.e., be blown to pieces for the sake of providing cover for the Taliban. The Islamic terror campaign is different from any enemy the West has ever faced, and, because there is no conventional way to fight it, more dangerous.

There are few moral values that these killers share with us. They inhabit countries where slaughtering women and children brings honor to men. There are people who live profitably among free nations and accept the kindness of their citizens, all the while plotting their ruin. There are leaders, popular ones, who will use poison gas on their own people. One might just as well imagine a country where two and two made five. Yet such countries are our new enemies.

In Syria, Libya, Iraq, Algeria, Iran, the Sudan, Afghanistan, the idea of hospitality means harboring mass killers; official slavery exists to this day within some of these borders; mutilations are state policies; women are kept as human house pets; and Americans are killed for sport. "In part of Nigeria and Sudan, and in Asia, notably in Indonesia," warns Paul Johnson, "non-Muslims are given the choice of conversion or death. And in all countries where Islamic law is applied, converts, whether compulsory or not, who revert to their earlier faith, are punished by death." With the exception of Turkey, fundamentalist theology "has increased its grip on both the rulers and the masses" throughout the Islamic world.

It isn't just Westerners who fear the menace of militant Islam. Algerian ambassador to the U.S. Osmane Bencherif has stated that "It is misguided policy to distinguish between moderate and extremist fundamentalists. The goal of all is the same: to construct a pure Islamic state, which is bound to be a theocracy and totalitarian." "An Islamist state is, almost by definition, a rogue state," observes Daniel Pipes. "Islamists in power means that conflicts proliferate, society is militarized, arsenals grow, and terrorism becomes an instrument of state."

The Cold War is over, but the battle of good vs. evil rages stronger than ever. At some point in the future, the human thirst for liberty and self-determination may sweep even the Islamic world. But today, a fresh enemy is at civilization's gate, and it's time we recognized him.

The Muslim World Has Fallen Behind

By Hillel Fradkin

Osama bin Laden and other radical Muslims look at the present condition of the world not just in contemporary terms, but in light of the whole 1,400-year sweep of Islamic history. They cite medieval authorities as frequently as living experts; ancient battles as readily as recent ones. To understand today's Islamic radicals it is necessary to appreciate how unappetizing civilization's current trends look to them.

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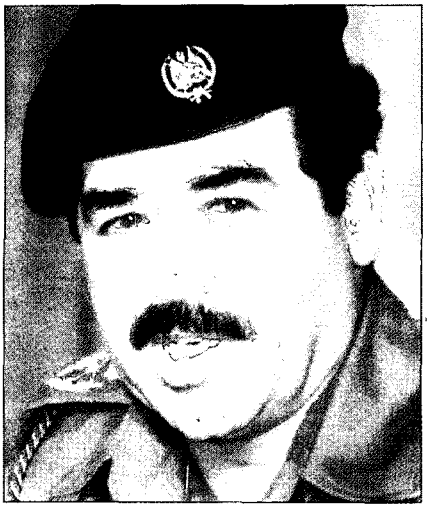

Saddam Hussein

AP/World Wide Photo

Keep in mind that for at least 1,000 years after Islam's founding in 622, Islamic states and their rulers were the most powerful entities in the world, far more impressive than any of their European and Christian rivals. At the turn of the previous millennium, the great cities of culture, learning, and science were Cordoba, Baghdad, and other urbane Arab metropoles. That is emphatically no longer the case.

To the contrary, today's Muslim nations are weak and, by and large, failed states. Whatever importance they possess derives almost entirely from where they are located—atop the largest proven reserves of oil in the world.

For a long time, the Islamic empire stretched from the Pyrenees to Indonesia, including most everything in between. As recently as the sixteenth century the most powerful state in the world, including Europe, was Muslim: the Ottoman Empire. As recently as the seventeenth century, the Ottomans came remarkably close to capturing Vienna. Had they done so, all of Europe could have come under Muslim rule.

But things turned out differently. For the last two or three centuries the Muslim world has been in retreat—politically, militarily, and economically. To the west, Muslim states were forced to give up rule in Europe; in the east they were pushed out of India. For a period, Muslims even had to submit to the rule of non-Muslims in North Africa, the Middle East, South and Southeast Asia.

Today, all Muslim nations are self-governing and with few exceptions are officially Muslim states. Geographically speaking, the Muslim world is not grossly smaller than it was at its height. But politically, Muslim countries are shadows of their former selves.

This situation is not only a function of the rapid progress of their competitors and adversaries. The Islamic world itself has stopped improving; Muslim leaders have not appropriated those aspects of modernity that made their rivals strong. Worse still, Muslims have intermittently tried to adopt *defective* forms of modernization—especially various types of socialism. What they have not lastingly tried is democratic capitalism. Almost all Muslim countries are still ruled by some form of autocracy—some softer, some harsher—and most of their autocrats are corrupt.

The Muslim world has a truly glorious past—not only politically and militarily but also intellectually and spiritually—and a diminished and humbling present. The natural consequence is disappointment, shame, even despair. The contrast with life in today's powerful advanced democracies like the United States is stark and often embittering.

Hillel Fradkin, W.H. Brady Fellow at the American Enterprise Institute, has just been appointed president of the Ethics and Public Policy Center.

Of course, there are many peoples and countries which have lost the preeminence they once enjoyed. The city of Rome, after all, once ruled the world. In modern times, England and France rose to great power, then declined. The French, in particular, still find it hard to bear their reduced position, but these peoples have "moved on." Why then does the diminished political station of Islamic countries so often yield fanaticism, rage, and terrorism?

The clearest explanation is that the Muslim faith assigns religious value to political success. The Koran presents Islam as the worthy successor, indeed the superior, of its monotheistic predecessors, Judaism and Christianity. Islam, unlike Christianity, has a political mission at its very heart. In contrast to Judaism (with which it shares a political element) Islam has a universalizing and missionary impulse. It looks forward eventually to a world united under Islam.

The original political and military successes of Islam served to confirm and reinforce the importance of political mission within its religious teachings. This has made Islam's more recent weakness especially troubling and freighted with greater significance than the ordinary rise and fall of state fortunes. Today's fanatics and terrorists have put an extreme interpretation on these circumstances. It is not merely history which has gone awry, they say, but the very constitution of the world. Demonic forces must be loose. How else is one to understand the current weakness of Mohammed's home lands? Satan himself must be at work—in the form of America, the Great Satan. America has achieved what has heretofore been unprecedented—"the occupation of the land of the two Holy Places," Arabia, the very birthplace of Islam.

To be sure, only a minority of Muslims share this interpretation, and a still smaller number are prepared to act on it with terror and violence. Still, the view is sufficiently popular to be convenient for Muslim tyrants—like Saddam Hussein, who has his own, hardly pious, reasons for wanting the U.S. out of the Arabian peninsula.

Regrettably, demonizing views of the U.S. have also been given a platform in the press of several "moderate" Muslim countries, fanning popular resentment and hatred toward everything American. Faced with indigenous resistance to their own regimes, the rulers of nations like Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Pakistan have found it useful to let the U.S. be the bogeyman, distracting their populations from problems at home. This may backfire spectacularly. It is certain to make our war against terrorism more difficult.

Islamic Militancy is on the Rise

By David Wurmser

The response of today's Muslims to the frustrating reality of being surpassed by Western civilization in nearly all ways has followed three different paths. The first response has been to look at the West and understand that its ideas can be successfully applied to Muslim regions. Unfortunately, this "borrow from the West" school has split between those who embrace the idea of freedom—such as Nobel Prize winner Naguib Mahfouz—and those who prefer modernity's twisted twin: totalitarianism. A

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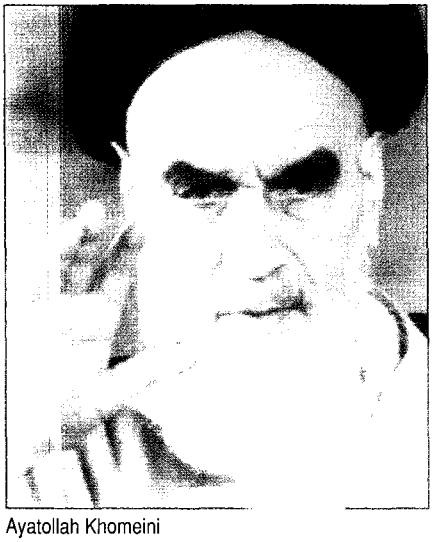
series of wars starting with the 1967 Arab-Israeli conflict and ending in Desert Storm set back many of the Muslim totalitarians, but some persist—notably in Iraq, Syria, and the PLO.

> "It is useless for the West to insist it is not at war with Islam. Islam itself is on trial here; it must now choose its path."

A second reaction has been to insist that the West's technological superiority can be absorbed without accepting its ideas. Many in the Saudi Arabian royal family—who vacation in Switzerland, own the latest hi-fi equipment, computers, and cars, and still virtually enslave their women—rank in this category. Oil riches and Western aid have allowed modern technology to flow freely into the Middle East. Remarkably, the economies and social life of the region remain extraordinarily backward. It's becoming obvious the ideas of the West have something to do with making the West great.

A third group of Muslims believe that if their societies will just return to the most pure and strict Islamic practices, the Muslim world will revert to its former glory and surpass the West. This is the group with which we are now at war. The idea of going back to an extinct past to defeat rapidly advancing competitors may seem ludicrous. But radicals promoting just such a view have managed to deliver painful blows to the West. The British commander in Sudan, Charles Gordon, was defeated and beheaded by such a movement in a stunning humiliation for the British in 1885. The U.S. was likewise humbled by Iran's Ayatollah Khomeini in 1979. Four years later, Hezbollah killed 241 Marines in Beirut. And now, Osama bin Laden has repeatedly bloodied America, including the worst attack ever launched on our soil by a foreign enemy. As is clear from parts of hijacker Mohamed Atta's "last will," bin Laden and his followers are believers in Wahabi Islam, a puritanical Saudi sect that believes neither in reform nor in adoption of Western methods.



AP/World Wide Photo

Ayatollah Khomeini

Within the Koran there are clear passages imploring believers to wage eternal war to further Islam. Many non-Wahabi Muslims interpret them as a call to eternal struggle for individual perfection, rather than real war. The Wahabis, of which bin Laden is one, will have none of such interpretations. They want actual war.

The most authoritative interpreter of Sunni Islamic law is a medieval-era scholar named al-Mawardi. At the turn of the last millennium he wrote in *The Ordinances of Government* that there could be no real peace between the Muslim world and the non-Muslim world. "Although Muslims have been forbidden to withdraw from battle with a foe...they may do so...to have a temporary break," he states. Peace treaties and truces were entered into by Mohammed in his wars with infidels, but only for the purpose of reconstituting his strength to win in the next round. Following al-Mawardi, some modern Islamic scholars, such as Majid Kaddouri, have stated that such truces can legally last only ten years. For bin Laden, it is thus heretical *not* to be at war with America.

The Islamic holy texts urge confidence in battling a vastly superior enemy. The Koran says in chapter 8, verse 65, "O Prophet, urge the believers to fight. If there are twenty steadfast men among you they will beat two hundred, if there are a hundred, they will beat a thousand of the unbelievers, for they are men with no understanding."

The phrase, "men of no understanding," is critical. One of this century's key Islamist thinkers, who resided in the West in the late 1940s, was Sayyid Qutb. He argues the West is inherently weak not because it is Christian, but because it has lost its Christianity and become a land of idolaters. Qutb wrote in his book *The America I Saw*, "No one builds as many churches as Americans do.... Notwithstanding this, there is no one as removed from feeling the spirituality, respect, and sacredness of religion than the Americans."

To the likes of Osama bin Laden, our tolerance and lack of confidence in asserting our faith openly are taken as emptiness of the soul, and thus vulnerability. We would gain more respect, cause bin Laden's followers more fear, and create theological reservations about using terror if we were unapologetically and openly Christian.

Our apparent irreligiousness also lifts restrictions on the means Muslims may employ in a fight. Islam restrains its followers in battles with adherents of Christianity and Judaism, which the Koran defines as fraternal, "protected" religions. But the Koran allows much harsher tactics if the enemy is linked with Satan. Western women with their short dresses are certainly considered efforts to tempt Muslims away from their faith, and Americans look like Satanic unbelievers in tempting Muslims to worship idols like money and materialism. Therefore we can be attacked without restraint.

It is useless for the West to insist it is not at war with Islam. Bin Laden and the Wahabi sect are authentic Muslims with grounding in Islamic law. Still, America is not at war with *all* of Islam. But it is not America's choice to decide how much of Islam it is in conflict with, or to adjudicate which branch of Islam is more "authentic." Islam itself is on trial; it must now choose its path: Return Islam to its golden age, when reasoning flourished, or imprison Islam in a strict reading closed to interpretation and modification. That choice belongs to Muslims.

But one thing is clear: Whoever chooses the bin Laden or Khomeini version of the faith has chosen to be in mortal conflict with us.

David Wurmser is a Middle East expert at the American Enterprise Institute.

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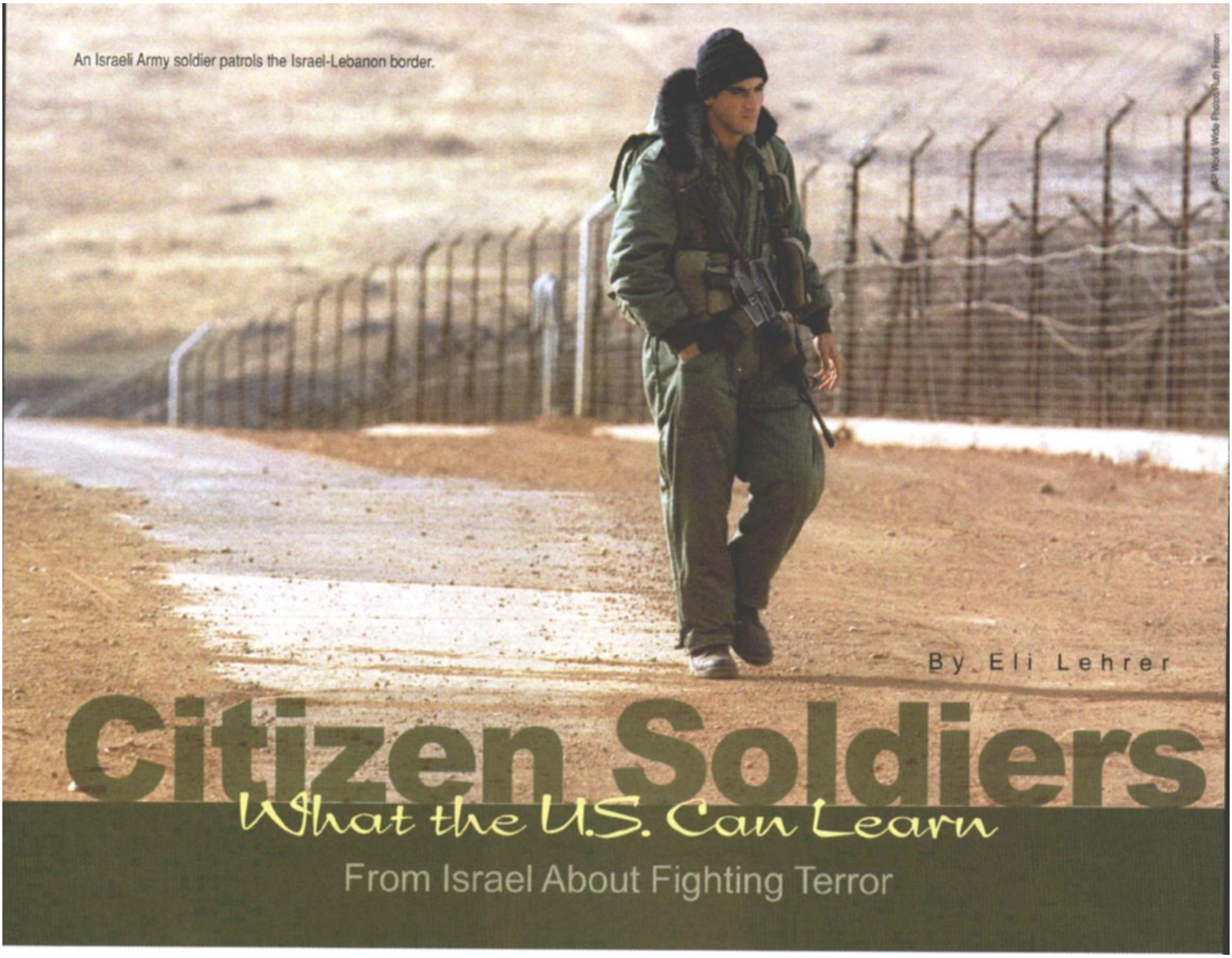

An Israeli Army soldier patrols the Israel-Lebanon border.

By Eli Lehrer

Citizen Soldiers

What the U.S. Can Learn From Israel About Fighting Terror

A cigarette dangling from the corner of his mouth, Israel Police spokesman Gil Kleiman pulls a secure police pager from his belt and begins reading the day's news bulletins. It's October 4, 2001. A little after 9:00 a.m. two men entered a house in an Arab village and killed the owner; the same suspects had murdered the homeowner's son the evening before in an apparent blood feud. At 10:34, 2,000 people joined a protest on the Temple Mount in Jerusalem's Old City: Police arrested 15 Jews and about 30 Arabs. At 12:30, an Arab terrorist dressed as an Israeli soldier opened fire in the central bus station in the city of Afula, killing three and critically wounding a dozen others. The gunman was also killed but, as Kleiman tells a caller, "we don't count terrorists." At 2:38, an urgent bulletin indicates that a Russian airliner out of Tel Aviv has crashed over the Black Sea. Officials first suspect a terrorist attack, but it later turns out that an errant Ukrainian missile brought the plane down. "Is this unusual?" we ask Kleiman. "Just another day at our office," he answers, shaking his head. It is still only 3:00 p.m.

Israel, more than any other democratic society in the world, faces a constant threat of terrorist attack. While only a minority of Palestinians engage in terrorism, many more lend political support to the men conducting the violence. From their sheltered redoubts on the West Bank of the Jordan River and in the Gaza Strip, terrorists have launched a renewed campaign against Israel this year, killing hundreds of Jewish, Arab, and Druze citizens. While Israel's body count of a few hundred terror victims per year pales in comparison to the more than 5,000 Americans killed on September 11, it's still a fearsome toll in a country less populated than metropolitan Chicago.

Without Israel's vigilant security policies, however, things would be much worse. Consider the following: No Israeli aircraft has been hijacked in over 20 years; security forces regularly stop even suicidal terrorists; and, in a society loaded with guns, mass shootings are rare. Indeed, Israel thrives amidst the attacks. The Jewish state has lively electoral politics, a feisty culture, and a bustling high-tech economy. As it reassesses its anti-terrorism policy in the wake of the September 11 attacks, the United States could learn a lot from Israel.

In a week of intensive visits with Israeli government officials, law enforcement officers, private security staff, and ordinary citizens, *TAE* studied the Jewish state's counter-terror efforts. Our main findings: First, Israel has an extraordinarily alert population that serves as the nation's first line of defense. Second, Israel involves its

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entire society in the fight against terrorism, including corporations, volunteers, law enforcement officers at all levels, and a small corps of highly trained anti-terror professionals. Third, Israelis adamantly refuse to let terror disrupt their normal lives. (The Sbarro pizzeria that was the site of this year's most notorious bombing carnage, for instance, reopened within days.) Above all, Israel understands that savvy people—more than technology, or physical barriers, or special tactics—are the critical weapon they can wield against terrorists.

Israel's extraordinarily alert population serves as a first line of defense.

Every Israeli prepares for the worst. Each home built since the Gulf War has, by law, a "secure room" that can function as a family shelter against terrorist attack. At a glance, the secure room in Uzi Landau's modest apartment near Tel Aviv looks like a typical study. A computer whirs quietly in one corner, and software manuals, spiritual texts, and books of political philosophy line the shelves. But a closer look tells a different story. A heavy steel plate is rolled over the window with a few tugs. The windows and steel door have gaskets which seal the room against biological and chemical attack. The walls, floor, and ceiling of the room are made of reinforced concrete. And government-distributed gas masks sit beside a manual for Windows 98. "We make sure that everyone knows what the stakes are," says Landau, who is not only a home-owning family man but also Israeli's Minister of Public Security.

At one point or another, nearly every Israeli has taken an active role in the fight against terrorism. Israel mandates three years of military service from every 18-year-old non-Arab citizen. But that is only the beginning of the nation's mass mobilization against terror. Every neighborhood has pits where citizens can throw suspicious packages that could be bombs. Parents must work a few days a year providing security at their children's schools. A comprehensive civil defense program gives every citizen information about evacuation routes and shelters. Major hospitals maintain mass outdoor showers to wash off chemical weapon residues. From the early primary grades, school children learn to spot suspicious strangers and situations. High-school students may learn fighting skills even before they enter military service.

Still, Israelis have no illusions that such target-hardening protects them entirely from terrorism. The gas masks, for example, won't work against all chemical weapons. The secure rooms don't provide protection against radiation. Many of the most likely contingencies are covered, though, and mass preparations have given nearly every Israeli some personal role in the fight against terror.

Even though the central government runs the police and nearly all other safety functions, Israeli communities also guard themselves. Within the Jewish settlements in Judea and Samaria on the West Bank, residents have set up their own emergency response centers. "Bulletproof vehicles aren't enough here. You need people to respond," says Yiftich Sapir, a supervisor at one response center created by the settlers' elected council. Located in the basement of a community center, the command room is staffed by citizen volunteers and army conscripts. Radios and ubiquitous cell phone links, as well as homing beacons and microphones built into settlers' cars, allow travellers to be closely tracked, and let authorities know right away when trouble is developing. Police, fire, and ambulance services can be dispatched from here, but in a dire emergency, armed settlers will pile into their own cars to help. Although they comprise less than 5 percent of the Israeli population, settlers living amongst Arab neighbors have recently accounted for about half of Israel's terrorist casualties—roughly the same death rate American troops faced in Vietnam.

Despite that grim reality, settlers lead active lives. In Ofra, a village of about 2,500 which lies 30 miles from Jerusalem, a visitor could easily believe he was in southern California. From green lawns to new playground equipment, Ofra has an air of suburban tranquility. But residents prepare themselves for terror. Nearly all households contain firearms, and residents patrol the streets on a volunteer basis. Razor wire rings the community. Cars have plastic rock-proof windows and some settlers invest in steel-plated bullet-proof vehicles. In the relatively placid years of the early 1980s, civic leaders looking to build the local economy discouraged Jewish residents from traveling to Jerusalem or Tel Aviv for shopping or entertainment. As the roads have become perilous, however, leaders have begun to see such trips as a civic imperative. "If you stop your relationships with the outside, you've surrendered," explains Pinchas Vallerstein, chairman of the settlers' YESHA council. "When there's a bad terrorist attack, we might bring in a big-name singer to show that life goes on and there's still time to have fun."

Sometimes, the imperative to resist terror goes to extremes. With the light of more than 100 candles illuminating the shepherd's cave where he serves visitors plates of hummus and grilled turkey, West Bank settler Dov Wienstok describes how he deals with trouble from Arab neighbors: "When an Arab steals something, I break his bones. Force is the only language they understand." Wienstok, who spends much of his time leading school-age children of Israeli settlers on politically provocative "nature walks" through areas under Palestinian Authority control, professes a lack of faith in the police and army. He accuses the government of selling out the settlers for the vain hope of peace with the Palestinians, nearly all of whom, he says, support the terrorists. Wienstok says, quite plausibly, that Israel's General Security Service monitors him, but he has so far not gotten in serious trouble for occasionally taking the law into his own hands.

Despite the horrific pressure on the population, vigilante behaviors are comparatively rare in Israel, partly because a massive corps of police volunteers allows responsible citizens to play an active role in official state security. Volunteer police officers are given uniforms, training, and rifles. They ride with professional cops (most patrol cars in the country contain one pro and one citizen volunteer), and while on patrol the volunteers have full police powers (the authority lapses as soon as they go off duty). While many American police departments also use volunteers, they mostly limit their roles to crowd control and directing traffic. In Israel, however, the volunteer corps actually dwarfs the professional force. Metropolitan Tel Aviv, for example, has a little over 3,000 full-time police and more than 8,000 uniformed volunteers. Since Israel has so many volunteers, and such well-

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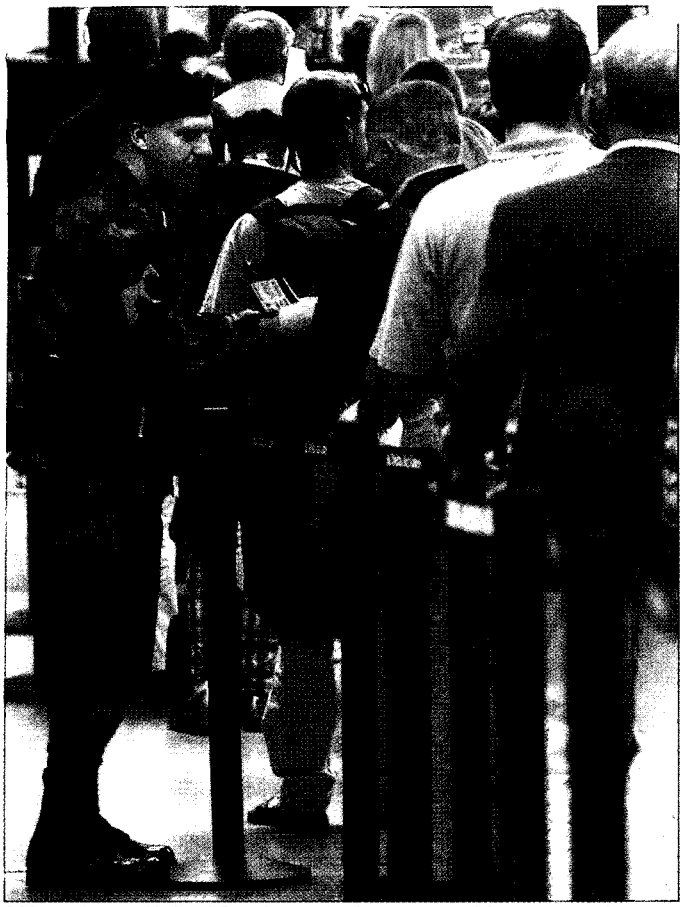

AP World Wide Photos/Gretchen Ertl

A Massachusetts National Guardsman checks passenger tickets at a security checkpoint at Boston's Logan Airport.

prepared ones, they are often first on the scene to deal with calamities. In the deadly Afula attack mentioned earlier, for instance, it was a volunteer policeman who killed the terrorist.

While volunteer manpower plays a major role in keeping Israeli society safe, the nation also maintains a stable of full-time police about 35 percent larger than the United States' on a policeman-per-citizen basis. Israel's unified national police force has two major subdivisions: the "blue," or civil, police and the "green" police known as Border Guards. Blue police units consist of law enforcement professionals with training and equipment very similar to American police departments. They write traffic tickets, collar bank robbers, and investigate drug rings, as well as doing security duty. Green police, on the other hand, are paramilitaries who receive infantry training before learning about police work, with many arriving through conscription. Both forces, however, respond to the same upper-level commanders and carry the same police ID cards.

The Yassam, or Special Patrol units, are a small corps of highly trained anti-terror professionals within the blue police. Most join the police after careers as squad leaders in the army special forces. Like nearly all other police, the Yassam spend some time on prosaic patrol duties. "Day to day, we don't have any particular task a lot of the time. Sometimes, we'll go to work an area where they've had a lot of car thefts," explains squad leader Mayor Nabir. "Our work is security, we are Israel's elite security force. We look for suspicious things." Coming to a scene, Yassam forces might seal off a perimeter and perform searches of suspect individuals. While the details of most Yassam operations are secret, it is well known that their units were involved in catching a cab driver who helped with the recent Tel Aviv disco bombing, and that they have captured accomplices to many other recent suicide bombings.

The same dedicated spirit of terror-fighting exists in Israel's several-hundred-member national bomb squad. "Our entire organization is built to support the sappers" who defuse bombs, explains Shaike Horowitz, the bomb unit's commander. The department relies on robots and other high-tech equipment, but human skill is the most important ingredient. Every Israeli sapper gets eight solid months of explosives-related training before hitting the streets. In the U.S., by comparison, most bomb technicians learn the ropes in a five-week FBI/Department of Defense course. In Israel, however, the stakes are much higher: 17 sappers have died in explosions over the last two decades.

Much of Israel's anti-terror work relies on simple observation. "Fighting terror is something that we try to get everyone involved in at least a little," says Yosef Sedbon, police chief for metropolitan Tel Aviv. "We need professionals but we also need help from everyone in the organization."

"Many of the things we do are based on our own common sense," explains Wajdey, a border guard commander working in East Jerusalem. As the threat of terrorist attacks has increased, green-uniformed teenage men and women toting automatic weapons have become ubiquitous in public markets and entertainment districts. "We get to know where we work and who the people are," says Wajdey. Border guards work at two or three posts and, after a few months on the job, they recognize regulars by sight. While they have almost unlimited powers to stop and search cars and pedestrians on suspicion, the green police don't have the manpower to pull over more than a selected few. Knowledge of the people they deal with provides the key to effective security.

Israel's internal intelligence agency—the General Security Service or Shin Bet, which is a kind of hybrid of our FBI and Secret Service—also relies heavily on familiarity with human habits to keep the peace. "We could keep a lid on the Palestinian population because we knew it," says former Shin Bet agent Reuven Paz. "We would go into their houses, often making it clear who we were. We could see how they lived and how they treated their children. We tracked everything. Not just the terrorists or problem people. The whole issue of public morale in the territories was vitally important." The Israelis continue to do an excellent job of collecting and then dispersing human intelligence to street-level officers.

The Israeli police also rely on massive applications of street-level manpower. To monitor a 150,000-person parade that *TAE* observed in Tel Aviv, the police mobilized over 1,000 officers. They had so many bodies on the sidewalks one could hardly wander half a block without encountering a fresh knot of patrolmen. Along the main route stood hundreds of green police, automatic weapons in hand. Special motorcycle police (two men per cycle, with the back officer holding a small automatic weapon at ready), threaded constantly through the crowd. Regular blue police and undercover officers were also present in force. And here, as at all times in Israeli cities, special units ranging from bomb technicians to anti-terror task forces cruised the streets in vans.

In heavily Arab areas, Israeli-Palestinian tensions have created an atmosphere for the police worse than anything American cops witness in their shadiest neighborhoods. On an Arab-dominated shopping strip just a few blocks from the American consulate in East Jerusalem, a blue-uniformed police officer walking down the

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street is accompanied by three border policemen who follow him with black-matte-finished automatic weapons in hands. Were it not for these paramilitary bodyguards, the simple act of handing out parking tickets could result in injury or death for police officers.

Many elements of Israel's vaunted airline security would be tricky-to-impossible to transfer to the U.S. Tsahi Stromza, who heads security for Israel's famously safe state-run airline El Al, observes that his airline's procedures probably aren't for everyone. El Al flies one or more sky marshals on every plane, employs gun-toting ground marshals as well, uses special compression chambers to check baggage for air pressure bombs, CAT-scans nearly all luggage, tightly secures cockpit doors to prevent hijacking, and questions every boarding passenger for between one and 17 minutes in a quest for suspicious parties.

"We hear all the time now that other airlines should emulate us. But it's just too complicated in a lot of cases," Stromza admits. "You could have 100 percent security but no passengers."

Israel has about the same land area as New Jersey, so Israeli professionals need to fly only if they conduct business out of the country. As a result, El Al launches only 10,720 flights per year—versus more than 35,000 flights *per day* in the U.S. Many of the small carrier's procedures would need extensive modification to be useful in America.

Israel understands that security needs must be balanced against other needs—economic, political, psychological. In numerous places the country has gone to almost heroic lengths to balance humanitarian concerns with its hardnosed anti-terrorist attitude. At Karni, for instance, a border terminal linking southern Israel with the Palestinian-packed Gaza Strip, Israel runs a facility earnestly devoted to supplying its mortal enemy with all the commercial goods it needs to sustain its population. A high concrete security wall runs through the entire terminal, perforated by a dozen steel doors through which pallets of goods can be passed

Israeli parents walk the line

By Althea Katz

AP World Wide Photos/Eyal Warshavsky

Barely three weeks after the terror attacks on America, the land of my birth, and a year after the current outbreak of warfare in my adopted home of Israel, my family and I are watching TV. It's been a nasty weekend—after being stoned by Arabs, two kids from the neighborhood are in the hospital, as is my son's youth group leader. Two other local drivers have been shot at. All weekend long, the percussion of gunfire has accompanied our Sabbath songs. And now the news brings information about casualties on the other side, including two Palestinians killed under unclear circumstances.

The camera pans over the taxi in which they were shot, caressing each bullet hole. And my 14-year-old son, my sweet child who has been taught all the American values and maxims, leans forward. His reaction is a single word: "Yes!"

For a moment, there is silence. I can almost see him thinking over his reaction. Then he whispers, "No, not 'yes.' Maybe…"

There is a conflict in our home. We hold American ideas of equal rights, democracy, of not judging a group by certain individual members. Yet we never know which Palestinian waiting at a roadblock might be a suicide bomber, which innocent-looking kid might throw a stone or kill, which Arab pedestrian might turn around with a Kalashnikov in hand and let loose a volley of fire.

Conversations go around in circles: "I'm afraid of Arabs."

"You don't have to be, just of terrorists."

"Which are the terrorists?"

"The ones who hurt people."

"But I want to know who he is before he hurts someone, so I have to be afraid of all Arabs."

A conceptual gap grows wider each time one of our children's friends is orphaned, each time a bomb goes off on their school bus route. How do I teach them to trust people while also training them in the skills other kids their age have used to survive—what a suicide bomber might look like, when to ignore a "helping hand" and instead play dead?

I live in a world where people go to work and get blown up, where they go to pray and end up in the hospital, where women hide their babies in laundry baskets when terrorists prowl outside. At bus stops I stand behind concrete barricades, hoping none of the passing vehicles will shoot at me or my children. On the bus I must calm my kids as stones hit us. I patiently explain, "The people who are doing this are wrong. But I never want to hear you talk about 'Arabs' who do this. It's specific individuals, it's not everyone. Most people just want to go on with their lives, and you can't blame them for what the terrorists do."

Some days I wonder: Wouldn't it be enough if I teach my children not to harm anyone except in self-defense? If they keep a cold distance from Arabs, isn't that sufficient? It certainly would be easier. Do we lose anything by taking the easy way out?

The answer is a resounding "yes." Yes, we lose something, something very precious—we give in, and change our agendas, values, and priorities to match those of the murderers.

Terrorists try to make everything uncertain—going to work or to shop, riding the bus to school, buying a slice of pizza, staying at home. The human mind cannot tolerate such uncertainty, and longs to make order. The simplest response is to reverse the terrorist's mantra, "we are good and you are evil."

We may not be able to keep terrorists from harming our bodies, but we can keep them from controlling our thoughts and behaviors. We are the only ones who determine what legacy we'll leave our children and what values we pass on through them.

I have two responsibilities to my offspring—to keep them safe and to keep them sane. There's a fine line between healthy precaution and giving in to hatred, but to walk that line is to fight back. We may not be able to beat every terrorist.

But if we refuse to give in, the terrorists will never beat us, either.

Writer and translator Althea Katz is an Israeli settler in the West Bank village of Har Bracha.

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after inspectors have combed them for contraband. In a two-ended shed with Israeli officials on one side and Palestinians on the other, goods ranging from oranges to compact disc players to sheep are passed between Israel proper and the Palestinian Authority's domain. Hundreds of trucks carrying millions of dollars worth of goods pass through the terminal each week, but nobody collects duties. The Israeli authorities simply check for dangerous items by unloading each truck and running the cargo through X-ray machines.

Men and women inclined to defend themselves will thwart more terrorist dangers than hired professionals.

At a glance, the Karni terminal looks like a model for a new Middle East based on Muslim-Jewish coexistence. The terminal has fewer security guards than many public streets in Israel, and during our tour of the facility Israeli terminal manager Jonathan Dotan greets his Palestinian counterpart with a handshake when they happen to meet in a waiting room. But appearances deceive. Shortly before *TAE* visited, a Palestinian leapt through one of the steel cargo doors as it opened and shot up an Israeli receiving bay and its occupants with an automatic rifle.

Dotan reports that the Palestinians regularly test his system: his X-ray machines find scissors, axes, and other tools buried deep within crates of produce and bundles of clothing. Major weapons would surely follow if an opening was discovered. The strain is constant; when *TAE* asks Dotan to smile for a photo, he can barely curl his lips. Just the same, he believes his unpleasant work has meaning. There would be an international outcry against Israel, accompanied by pictures of starving Palestinians, if trade with Gaza was cut off. "I'm here to protect our society," he says. "I'm here to make sure that commerce continues and that things are as normal as they can be."

Threats that endanger Israel's very existence have led the nation to many measures that Americans wouldn't and shouldn't accept. Literally none of the major elements of Israel's main anti-terror law would pass U.S. Constitutional muster. In addition, military courts can detain civilians without trial for long periods of time. This isn't acutally part of the law itself. The Israeli Supreme Court has ruled that Shin Bet can use physical pressure—torture—when it has a strong reason to believe that doing so will save lives. Every adult Israeli must carry a national identity card to show any police officer on demand. Many Israelis *TAE* spoke with expressed dismay at America's unwillingness to silence professors and clerics who publish militant statements in our press.

Most Americans would oppose importing these elements of Israel's anti-terror effort on principle. Certain other Israeli strategies are ill-suited to America simply on practical grounds. X-raying every parcel crossing our Canadian and Mexican borders would be impossible, and is thankfully not necessary anyway. Just the same, large mobile X-ray machines capable of scanning an entire truckload in a few minutes—which the Israelis are eyeing hungrily but for the $6-million price tag—could help our border guards screen a greater percentage of suspicious trucks and parcels.

And there are some Israeli-tested practices that would be easy for the U.S. to emulate. We should, for example, dust off some of our Cold War bomb shelters, and rejuvenate the system of civil defense block wardens we maintained in the 1940s, 1950s and '60s. In major cities particularly, where terrorism is now a clear and present danger, it would be a practical and worthy goal to adapt Israeli methods of preparing for disasters and evacuations. More extreme measures like distributing gas masks and vaccinating against possible bioweapons also deserve consideration, but only if careful study presents a convincing case in their favor.

American police departments would do well to increase their volunteer manpower, as the Israelis have done so effectively. The relative lack of military experience among our populace means, however, that training volunteers would be harder than in Israel (where most citizens have three years' experience in the army). American police departments and intelligence agencies have better technology than their Israeli counterparts, yet so far we have failed to use this to our advantage. U.S. law enforcement agencies should share information more fully. If immigration status, traffic violations, and FBI intelligence had been cross-referenced, for example, several of the September 11 attackers would have been picked up by U.S. authorities before they acted. We need vastly improved national databases that can be used to run quick checks on suspicious individuals at border crossings, in immigration offices, and at job, university, and training sites (like flight schools), as well as in routine daily police work.

Training a corps of anti-terror professionals along the lines of Israel's Yassam makes sense in the United States. But a nationwide bomb squad would prove cumbersome and unworkable in our vast country. Large city police departments in America, though, should upgrade their bomb squad training, as well as giving extra anti-terror training to existing elite units. Small and mid-sized police agencies, which already rely on state police or regional teams to intervene when bombs or other dangers are suspected, might investigate the possibility of creating regional anti-terror units. The United States should, in short, look to Israel for principles more than daily tactics.

Above all, Israel's ability to balance effective terror fighting with the freedoms of liberal society relies on an alert and engaged citizenry. The Israeli strengths—a collective will to fight terror, strong volunteerism, taking responsibility for the safety of one's own community, and a willingness to carry on as normal amidst constant threats of attack—are also natural instincts among everyday Americans, and we will need to draw on them repeatedly in the years ahead.

Even when it comes to the dirty and troublesome work of dealing with bombs and battling terrorists as they attack, Israel has learned that no amount of technology can substitute for the disciplined valor of individuals devoted to their society and willing to act in a crisis. Men and women inclined to defend themselves will thwart more terrorist dangers than hired professionals. As America brings its mighty armed forces to bear against terrorists who despise freedom, we should remember the key lesson of Israel's fight against terror: Active private citizens are the best defense.

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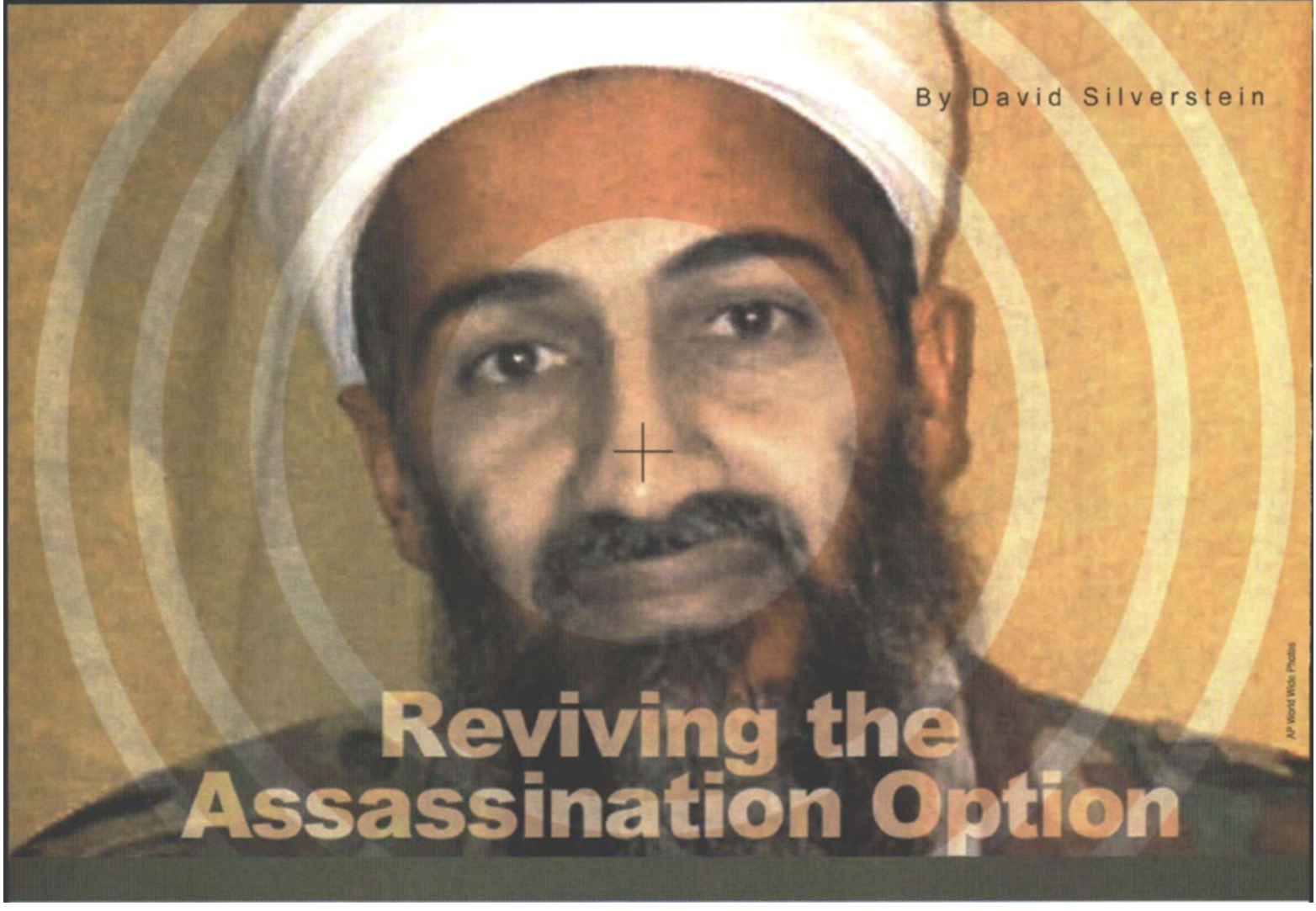

By David Silverstein

Reviving the Assassination Option

As Friday morning dawned on January 5, 1996, the inhabitants of Beit Lahiya in the northern Gaza Strip went about their morning business, plying the muddy roads and pedestrian passages between run-down homes made of concrete blocks and corrugated roofing. In one of the buildings, a 30-year-old man with dark hair, brown eyes, and a scraggly beard heard his phone ring.

While Yahya Ayyash looked much like any other Palestinian, his degree in electrical engineering from Beir Zeit University in the West Bank gave him some special skills. His main distinguishing characteristic, though, was his penchant for mass murder, which had placed him on Israel's Most Wanted list for almost four years. Ayyash was a master bomb maker in the service of Hamas, the violent Islamic resistance group. He was credited with introducing the art of suicide bombing to Palestinians. Suicide bombings—"martyrdom operations" in Arab parlance—had killed some 50 Israelis in the previous two years.

Though he didn't know it, an Israeli intelligence drone circled overhead that morning as Ayyash reached for the cell phone in his nondescript hideout. He took the call, uttered a few words, and in an instant his hand and half of his head were blown off. The phone had been packed with 50 grams of explosive material by Israeli intelligence agents. It was detonated by a radio signal from the plane as soon as Ayyash was positively identified as the man speaking on the phone.

Suddenly, there was an open space on the Most Wanted list.

"Assassin" is actually an Arabic word, linked to the fanatical Muslim killers who targeted Christian crusaders nine hundred years ago. In modern usage, assassination has usually come to mean the killing of a government official, generally using secret or treacherous means. It is a tool of war that America has used successfully in the past.

Most recently, there was the Phoenix Program run jointly by the CIA and South Vietnamese agencies. This was an operation for uncovering and then neutralizing members of the Viet Cong who were secretly directing subversion and terror campaigns in South Vietnam—communists who aimed to undercut the stability of South Vietnam's evolving proto-democracy. Working with a strong intelligence network, commando teams captured many of these Viet Cong members. They tried to extract knowledge of enemy plans, and to "turn" or imprison the agents. As Max Boot notes in a forthcoming book on guerilla war, "Phoenix was caricatured by anti-war protesters as a program of organized assassination, but the bulk of the cadres it 'neutralized' were captured or induced to defect, not killed." Roughly 33,000 Viet Cong were incarcerated, 22,000 were "turned." Nonetheless, approximately 26,000 of these guerillas were killed.

The Phoenix Program turned out to be highly effective in eliminating terror and subversion in South Vietnam. It was "extremely destructive," admitted Tran Do, a deputy communist

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commander. The ranks of Viet Cong terrorists were thinned so drastically that the war became less of a counter-guerilla battle and more a struggle against invading regular North Vietnamese troops.

> "Assassination is a morally superior alternative to carpet bombing."

Like so much else in the Vietnam era, however, the Phoenix Program inspired domestic political opposition in the U.S. Disregarding the program's clear operational successes, the Senate Intelligence Committee, under the direction of its dovish chairman, Senator Frank Church, held hearings beginning in January 1975 which attempted to discredit and embarrass the CIA and the other U.S. intelligence services on many levels.

The very idea of the U.S. conducting undercover operations was challenged. "The Committee was struck by the basic tension—if not incompatibility—of covert operations and the demands of a constitutional system," stated Church's final report. The FBI and NSA were taken to task for their involvement in surveillance on anti-war radicals, Black Panthers, American Indian Movement activists, Weather Underground subversives, and others.

And the Church Committee report stated without qualification that "assassination is unacceptable in our society." The CIA was raked over the coals for its role in the Phoenix Program. A great stink was generated over indirect American involvement in the killings of Congolese strongman Patrice Lumumba, Dominican Republic dictator Rafael Trujillo, and Vietnamese official Ngo Dinh Diem. The Committee revealed that the U.S. had considered exotic plans to kill Fidel Castro with an exploding sea shell, a poison cigar, or a wet suit impregnated with toxic fungus.

The Church Committee hearings provided fodder for many mischaracterizations of American covert operations, and launched endless attacks on U.S. intelligence activities by the political Left. They sounded the death knell for U.S. involvement in any operations that might result in an assassination. It was argued on editorial pages and in liberal bastions across the country that assassination was an entirely illegitimate tool of war, and fundamentally incompatible with American principles and morality. Given the political climate at the time, it was clear that assassination was going to be eliminated as a tool of American state power.

But Congress never specifically outlawed the practice. Instead, it relied on a ban on assassination contained in President Gerald Ford's 1976 Presidential Executive Order11905, later expanded in President Ronald Reagan's 1981 Presidential Executive Order 12333. The later version of this directive reads: "No person employed by or acting on behalf of the United States Government shall engage in, or conspire to engage in, assassination."

Every successive President has followed these bans, and with the Church Committee muckraking in mind, our intelligence and military operatives have been kept on a very short leash. Just the same, our executives are not completely hamstrung in this area. A great advantage of the executive orders is that they can be repealed by the President at any time without Congressional action. Moreover, Congress never required that any bans on "assassination" formally define the term. This fact has given subsequent Presidents considerable latitude when contemplating actions that might result in the death of enemy officials.

There have been at least four or five cases in the last 25 years where it can reasonably be argued that the American military, or an ally working with our assistance, was implicitly targeting a leading foreign enemy for elimination. One example was the 1985 car bombing in a Beirut suburb that targeted Sheikh Mohammed Hussein Fadlallah, the leader of the Hezbollah group which had murdered 241 Marines in that city in 1983. Another example is the 1986 air strike against Muammar Qadaffi's personal compound in Libya, which was launched by President Reagan in the face of evidence of Libyan terrorism. Two further cases were the missile attacks on Saddam Hussein's command bunkers in Iraq in 1991 and 1993. A final instance was the 1993 killing of Colombian drug baron Pablo Escobar by local soldiers operating with American intelligence, training, and assistance. In each of these instances, our Commanders in Chief have scrupulously followed the letter of the law contained in the executive orders against assassination. Yet they effectively managed to skirt the ban. (Only one of these efforts was successful, however—that against Escobar.) Importantly, potential critics said little about these strikes, even though they verged on violating the assassination ban, because they were strongly supported by popular opinion.

Today, as Americans call for strong reprisals against the terrorists responsible for the September 11 attacks, even liberal politicians are suddenly showing a new willingness to consider the merits of assassination as a means of responding to sworn enemies. Members of both parties in the House and Senate, including the new chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee, Senator Bob Graham (D-FL), openly predict a possible lifting of the U.S. ban on the use of assassination. Indeed, a previously moribund bill to repeal the prohibition—H.R. 19, the Terrorist Elimination Act of 2001—recently gained 14 co-sponsors, all enrolled after September 11. Recognizing the emasculated self-defense capabilities created by the ban, President Bush signed an order the same month as the attacks, which explicitly directs the CIA to engage in covert—and deadly—operations against Osama bin Laden as well as the al-Qaeda organization.

Amidst this newfound realism, it might be useful to examine Israel's experience with assassination, where the policy has had to be implemented more than perhaps any other place. Surrounded by hostile dictatorships and plagued by a fifth column of Israeli and Palestinian Arabs, Israel has repeatedly been beset by terrorism at home and abroad. One response to this existential threat has been the development of an aggressive policy of state-sponsored assassination of terrorists—referred to as "targeted killings" or "active self-defense."

Wide-ranging Israeli actions to catch or kill terrorists and their sponsors date back to the Munich Olympics in 1972 where eight Palestinians from the Black September terrorist group murdered 11 Israeli athletes and a German policeman. Israel's response was an unremitting worldwide campaign to find and kill every terrorist involved in the act. Similarly, Israeli agents hunted down the PLO's top military leader and second

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in command, Abu Jihad, who was personally responsible for the deaths of scores of Israelis. In a 1987 operation that featured submarine-borne commandos and shore-based intelligence officers, Abu Jihad was killed in his bed in Tunis, Tunisia.

> "After September 11, even liberal politicians are considering the merits of assassination."

Since the start of the first Palestinian uprising or *intifada* in December 1987, and continuing through the latest uprising that began in September 2000, Israel's targeted killings of terrorists have been restricted to the Middle East, and mostly within its own borders. Employing techniques ranging from sniping to helicopter gunship strikes on moving cars to tiny bombs hidden in cell phones, Israeli operatives have planned pin-point strikes that kill criminals, usually without harming innocent people around them. According to Palestinian sources, Israel has killed more than 60 Palestinians over the past year in this way, heading off untold numbers of attacks. Compared to America's penchant for going after terrorists with cruise missile strikes it can be argued that a pinpoint assassination is actually much more humane, controlled, and gentle on non-combatants.

Israel is a democracy, bound by standing legal procedures, and consistent with this, the nation's targeted killings are authorized in a special process intended to ensure government oversight. Senior Israeli officials we spoke to in October explained that in practice the procedure operates like this: An intelligence agency will approach the mini-cabinet (composed of Israel's prime minister, defense minister, and foreign minister) with information about an impending terrorist attack, or the definite involvement of one or more individuals in a past attack. They will make the case for assassination. With the attorney general acting as a non-voting adviser to the process, the members of the mini-cabinet then vote whether to permit an assassination. Every case is decided individually, and the quality of the evidence, the urgency of the threat, the timing of any assassination, and likely political fallout are all considered in the decision-making process. The threat of an imminent attack by a specific terrorist is likely to yield a decision in favor of a targeted killing. A more general request to kill a senior Palestinian political leader, on the other hand, is unlikely to be sanctioned, for fear of international repercussions and the possibility of retaliation against Israeli politicians.

Israel's "targeted killing" policy has yielded mixed results. Suicide bombings, drive-by shootings, and random sniping attacks against Israelis have not been eliminated. In mid October, Palestinian radicals actually killed an Israeli cabinet minister in what they said was revenge for a targeted killing. Meanwhile, foreign governments continue to complain bitterly over Israeli pre-emptive killings of even the most violent terrorists.

Israeli counter-terrorism authorities do report, however, that targeted killings have succeeded in deterring and short-circuiting attacks, including potential suicide bombings, and that they have reduced the numbers of terrorist leaders and skilled bomb-makers. Among other things, this has resulted in poorer execution of attacks, and many more premature detonations that kill bombers before they can fully assemble their explosives or maneuver them into position.

Whether U.S. forces borrow a page from the Israeli playbook and start knocking off terrorists in quiet pre-emptive hits remains to be seen. In any case, killing Osama bin Laden is likely to be a very different operation from rooting out bombers in Gaza. A well-placed air-to-ground missile, bunker-busting bomb, or fuel-air explosive guided to the target by Special Forces using laser designators is likely to be more effective than a sniper or cell-phone bomb. Sneaking the reconnaissance soldiers into Afghanistan and putting planes in the sky will be the easy part of the mission. Finding our enemy's hideouts will be extremely difficult.

We have no choice but to try, however. Al-Qaeda terrorists do not distinguish between soldiers and civilians. They are willing to die for the sake of destroying America. They are willing to use horrendous weapons of mass destruction. For these reasons alone, America must make every effort to physically eliminate these men. Even if the effort fails, a national policy allowing the killing of such people will yield benefits now and in the future.

A policy permitting U.S. assassination efforts will force terrorist leaders to go deeper underground. It will deter casual sympathizers from becoming involved in these movements. It will discourage national leaders like Saddam Hussein, Muammar Qaddafi, and Mullah Mohammed Omar of the Taliban from sponsoring terrorism in the future, knowing that it could cost them their own lives.

An American policy of selective assassination offers far more certain results than trying to rely on fuzzy international police efforts. It is also far less costly, in both dollars and soldiers' lives, than trying to capture terrorists and bring them to justice, or rout them in conventional battles. Targeted killings also avoid creating near-martyrs sitting in American jails, who could inspire future attackers. And assassination is a morally superior alternative to carpet bombing.

Compared to air strikes, assassinations would be much less dangerous and psychologically menacing to populations in the lands where terrorists operate—an important factor when trying to win hearts and minds. As Lt. Col. John Paul Vann, one of America's leading practitioners in Vietnam, put it, "Guerilla warfare requires the utmost discrimination in killing. Every time we killed an innocent person we lost ground in our battle to win the people."

President Bush has warned that today's war on terrorism will be different from most, and that innocent American civilians are likely to continue to be victims. Fortunately, a system has evolved for working around the short-sighted, post-Vietnam-era efforts to eliminate selective assassination as one tool of war. Our Commander in Chief will use a range of methods to destroy America's enemies one by one with extreme discretion.

The use of assassination may be one of the most effective ways to stop today's plague of Islamic fundamentalist terror. Applied with precision, it can give us the advantage we need in a deadly serious war, without leading us away from our humane traditions.

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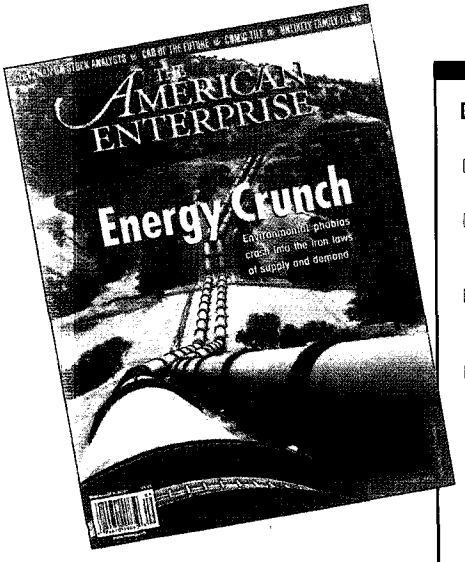

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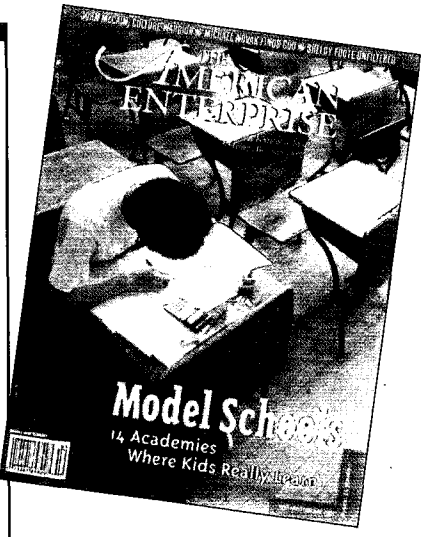

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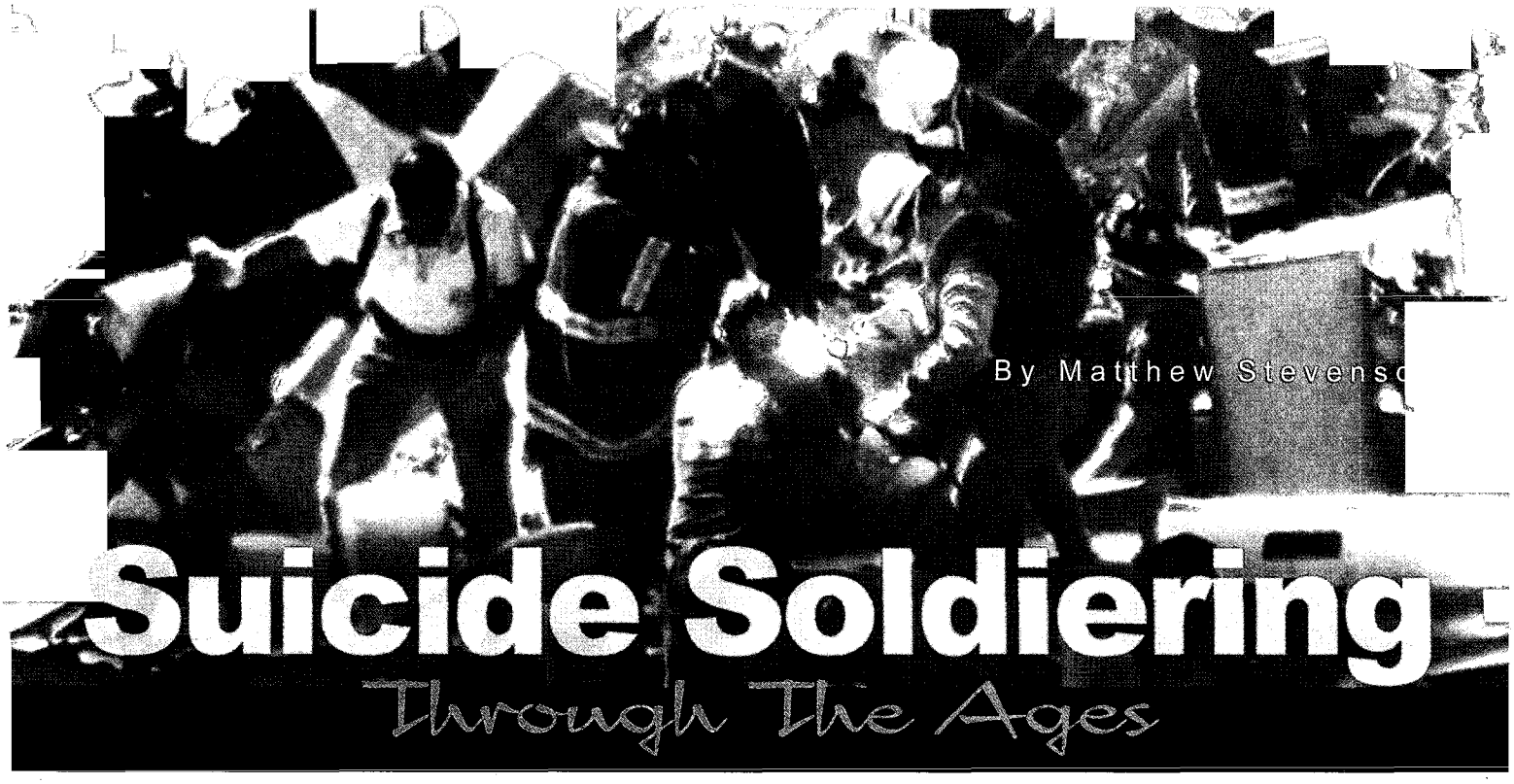

By Matthew Stevenson

Suicide Soldiering

Through The Ages

On the heights of the Gallipoli peninsula in 1915, a Turkish colonel, Mustafa Kemal, later known as Atatürk, rushed reinforcements to the front with the immortal words: "I am not ordering you to attack. I am ordering you to die." Allied soldiers had nearly broken through to the Dardanelles, which in turn would have led to the fall of Istanbul and the strategic Bosphorus Straits. The full regiment of counter-attacking Turks did indeed die, to a man.

Seventy years later another confrontation took place between legions of Allah and Western forces. U.S. Marines had been deployed to Beirut in 1983 to maintain a fragile peace. In October, a suicide truck bomber crashed into their barracks with a consignment of explosives, killing 260 Americans, plus 60 French soldiers. A Marine sentry who survived recalled only a smile on the face of the assailant.

This attack drove the Western alliance out of Lebanon, allowing Syria and Iran to establish cells of terror in Lebanon's anarchy, much as Osama bin Laden has found his own free-range zones inside Afghanistan. As the result, Hamas, Hezbollah, and other Islamic terror organizations embraced suicide warfare. Suddenly, Muslim extremists are able to make damaging strikes anywhere someone can be recruited to die.

Dr. Ariel Merari, a professor at Harvard and Tel Aviv universities, has studied suicide soldiers operating in theaters ranging from Israel to Kurdistan to Sri Lanka. They are, he told the U.S. Congress in testimony a year and a half ago, not solitary creatures:

"In the whole series of Lebanese suicide terrorist attacks and Palestinian suicide attacks…there was no single case in which an individual on his own prepared this attack and carried it out. In all cases it was an organization that decided to use this tactic, found the person or persons to carry it out, trained them, and then sent them on the mission at the time and place that the organization chose."

In short, suicide bombers don't strap on explosive backpacks in fits of divine revelation. Most attacks are arranged by organizations pursuing political agendas. Some suicide sponsors are entirely secular. "Religiosity is not a must," Merari has written.

Fanaticism has its uses however. In his declaration of war on the West, bin Laden goes on at great length to assure his followers that every *shahid* (Islamic suicide soldier) will enjoy a rich status in heaven—spelled out in startling details of beautiful virgins and opulent riches. "A martyr will not feel the pain of death except like how you feel when you are pinched," bin Laden quotes from a religious text. Similar assurances are offered to foot soldiers by the sponsors of Palestinian suicide bombings. These promises must be convincing, for Muslim suicide warriors often leave behind videos describing their eagerness to enter Paradise as martyrs.

Dr. Merari emphasizes that suicide bombers are made, not born. Organizations only begin by identifying people "who express their willingness to carry out these kinds of attacks." Once they are convinced that a person is serious, they train him for weeks or months.

> This training process involves two important elements. One is…giving that person additional reasons to die, by giving him additional ideological stories of national glory, hatred for the enemy, etc. In this part of the training, religious motivation also comes to play. The other critical element in this training process is the creation of a point of no return. This is very important because the wish to die is not stable. In order to make sure that the person does not change his mind, the organization makes…the candidate write last letters to his family, to his friends. The candidate is videotaped saying farewell. From that point on the person is actually referred to in Arabic as *al-shahid al-hai*, which means the living martyr…already dead…only temporarily here with us.

TAE *contributing writer Matthew Stevenson is author of the newly published* Letters of Transit: Essays on Travel, Politics, History, and Family Life Abroad.

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Merari notes that most organizations send out suicide soldiers "when they think that the time is critical, that they are at a political strategic crossroads." Suicide bombings revved up in Israel, for example, when extremists feared that peace between moderate Palestinians and Israel might succeed. In India, suicide assailants killed Indira and Rajiv Gandhi just as new policies were being introduced in Amritsar and Sri Lanka.

> A Marine sentry who survived recalled only a smile on the face of the assailant.

While rare in military history, suicide attackers were not unknown in the past. Sometimes it takes a fine line to distinguish troops heading to their deaths in battle from those who enter a conflict with the specific objective of killing themselves. In 73 A.D. at Masada, located in the Judean desert south of Jerusalem, a group of Jewish Zealots (from whom we get the synonym for extremism) defied the Roman army, then hurled themselves from the fortress walls by the hundreds rather than be captured.

Along the River Somme on the morning of July 1, 1916, more than 40,000 British and allied troops died trying to advance into German wire and machine guns. Ordered to their slaughter, a few British soldiers played bagpipes and kicked footballs on their short dashes to eternity. Not many actually expected to make the second line of German trenches. Research on numerous battles concludes that soldiers who advance to almost certain death do so in most cases to maintain their bond with others in their ranks.

In the early days of World War II, American forces encountered a terrifying onslaught of *banzai* charges, in which Japanese troops hurled themselves senselessly into opposing lines. Entire companies and battalions rushed forward, in the name of the emperor, to certain death in the sights of American machine guns. On Guadalcanal my father fought at the battle of the Tenaru River, at which his Marine company responded to a *banzai* attack with a bayonet charge of their own, wiping out the opposing Japanese forces. But it was the aftermath of that battle that so disturbed the American fighters. As one eye-witness wrote: "I have never heard or read of this kind of fight. These people refuse to surrender. The wounded wait until men come up to examine them…and then blow themselves and the other fellow to pieces with a hand grenade." Thanks to an alert corporal, my father survived one such suicide attack.

Later in World War II, the Japanese developed a tactic that combined *banzai* ferocity with Masada's defiance and Beirut's indifference to death. Back at the time of a thirteenth-century Mongol invasion, a storm referred to as the Divine Wind—or *kamikaze*—saved Japan from military defeat. At the end of the Pacific war, some Japanese pilots prepared to sacrifice themselves for the empire set forth under the same name, hoping to forestall another invasion.

By 1945, the American naval and air forces controlled nearly all the shipping lanes and air space around the Japanese islands. Conventional bombers and fighters had little chance against this U.S. dominance, except when they were converted into human-guided cruise missiles. Suicide pilots proved as deadly and hard to stop as today's terrorists. One witness to an attack wrote: "A kamikaze screamed in under the guns of the picket ships, drove through wallowing transports like a ferret through a henyard, and exploded in a great orange flame against the side of a ship." With a few words changed, this could almost describe the attack on the World Trade Center.

Two thousand nine hundred and forty-four kamikaze missions were flown against the American invasion fleet, accounting for most of our 4,907 naval deaths in the campaign. Had there been an American invasion of Japan in 1945-46, kamikazes would have been the principal threat from the air. Historian Samuel Hynes, then a U.S. pilot, wrote: "The true end of the war for the men I was fighting against was not victory, but death."

Like today's Islamic bombers, the young Japanese pilots who flew these last missions were often notable for their outward lack of martial prowess. Many were mediocre high-school students with literary pretensions. They left behind *haiku* that sing the song of sacrifice. A verse such as: "O my soul, if you do not get killed, you are going to die, anyway. This is a death pool in front of you" could easily have been found among the papers of a kamikaze pilot. This particular one, however, is from an Arabic poem quoted often by Osama bin Laden.

In many ways, bin Laden is the heir to Hasan, grand master of the eleventh-century Islamic fanatics who killed their enemies and themselves in moments of religious frenzy. Hasan "commanded a chain of strongholds all over Iran and Iraq, a network of propagandists, a corps of devoted terrorists, and an unknown number of agents in enemy camps and cities."

Some of today's suicide bombers may also take inspiration from the Anarchists of the late nineteenth century, who dreamed of worlds without hierarchy or authority, and found their targets among the governments or royal families of Europe and America. Their belief in something called the "propaganda of the deed" is described by historian Barbara Tuchman in *The Proud Tower*:

> Thinkers in press and pamphlet constructed marvelous paper models of the Anarchist millennium; poured out tirades of hate and invective upon the ruling class and its despised ally, the bourgeoisie; issued trumpet calls for action, for a "propaganda of the deed" to accomplish the enemy's overthrow.... Down in the lower depths of society lonely men were listening. They heard echoes of the tirades and the trumpets and caught a glimpse of the shining millennium that promised a life without hunger and without a boss. Suddenly one of them, with a sense of injury or a sense of mission, would rise up, go out and kill—and sacrifice his own life on the altar of the Ideal.

Though they are almost forgotten today, the Anarchists killed the empress of Austria, a Russian tsar, and America's President McKinley. For more than two decades they were a plague on civilized society. Eventually, these suicide soldiers—like all the others—faded away. But it took the "war to end all wars" to make them disappear.

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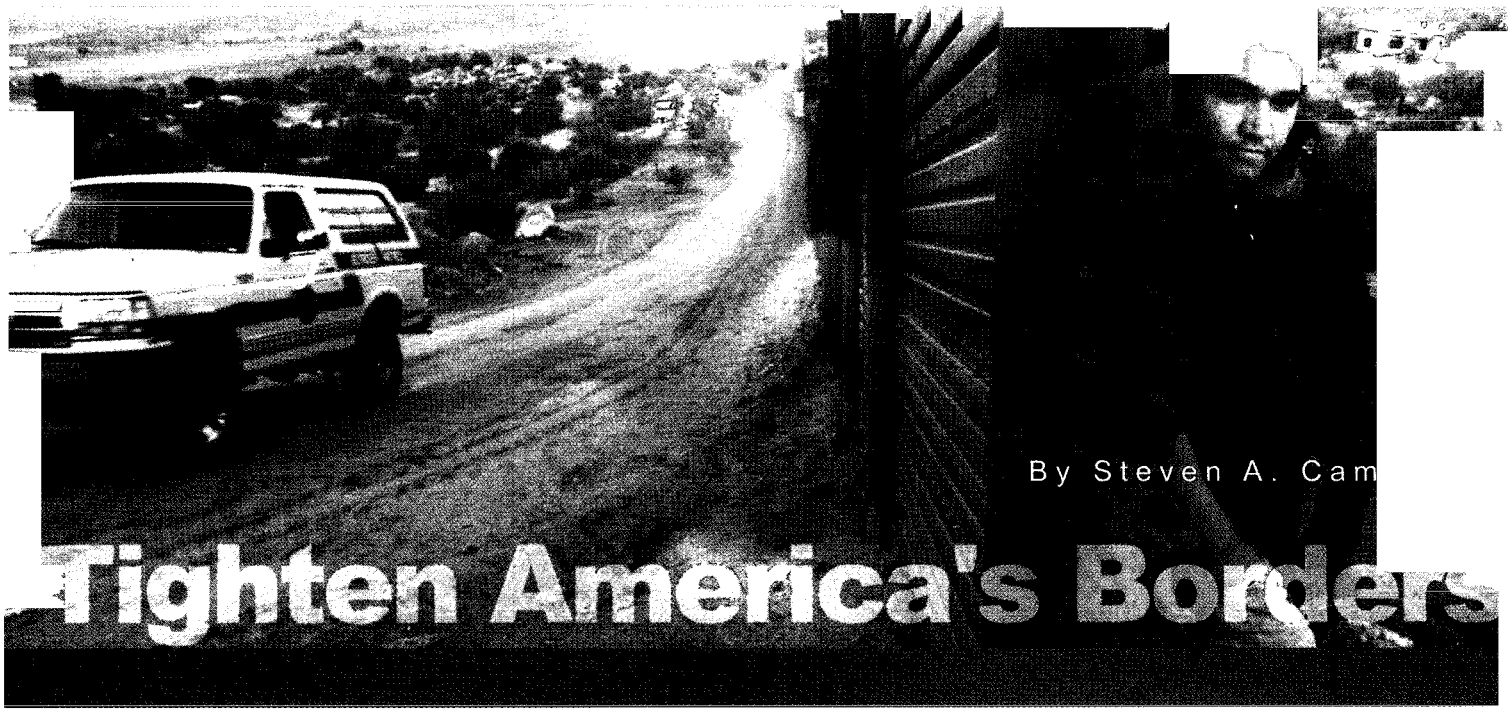

By Steven A. Cam

Tighten America's Borders

All 19 perpetrators of the horrific attacks of September 11 were foreign citizens who had entered the United States as students, business travelers, or tourists. Clearly, changes in our immigration procedures, including temporary and permanent visa issuance, border control, and efforts to deal with illegal immigration, are critical to reducing the chances of further attacks. In the new kind of war we now face, the primary weapons are the terrorists themselves, so keeping them out or apprehending them after they get in is going to be an indispensable element of victory. The simple fact is that if the terrorists can't enter the country, they won't be able to commit a terror attack on American soil.

Most Americans understand that our border is a critical tool for protecting America's national interests. A Zogby poll taken in the wake of the attacks found that the overwhelming majority of Americans, across all races, regions, incomes, and political beliefs, blamed lax border control and screening of immigrants for contributing to the attacks. There can be little doubt that greatly stepped-up efforts to control the border would be met with overwhelming support by the American people. Unfortunately a small but influential portion of America's leadership has come to see borders as simply an obstacle to be overcome by travelers and businesses. This attitude has to change.

Take Visa Screening More Seriously

Entry to the United States is not a right but a privilege, granted exclusively at our discretion. For the most part that discretion is exercised by members of the State Department's Bureau of Consular Affairs, often referred to as the Consular Corps. Among their other duties, these men and women make the all-important decisions about who gets a visa to enter the United States, making them the forward guard of homeland defense—America's other Border Patrol. Unfortunately, the Consular Corps badly needs more manpower and improved tools in order to fulfill these responsibilities properly.

Some changed procedures and attitudes are also required. It must be reasserted that the American people, and not visa applicants, are the customer. The Consular Corps has adopted a culture of service rather than skepticism, in which visa officers feel it is as important to please visa applicants as it is to screen them thoroughly. There has been pressure to speed processing and to approve marginal applications.

Responsibility for issuing visas fell to the State Department because it was the only agency with offices overseas, where the demand was. But it is difficult to imagine two less complementary functions than diplomacy and enforcement of immigration laws. The diplomat's goal of promoting cooperation and compromise is sometimes in conflict with the gatekeeper's goal of exposing fraud and ensuring compliance with the law. This systemic mismatch is likely to persist regardless of management changes and may only be remedied by transferring all visa-issuing responsibilities overseas to the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, or perhaps a new "Visa Corps" answerable to the U.S. head of Homeland Security. Visa officers need to be highly trained professionals, specializing in their function, respected by their agency, and insulated from political pressure.

Administrative changes won't matter much, of course, if there aren't enough people to handle the work. The current Bureau of Consular Affairs has only 900 officers overseas, assisted by 2,500 foreign nationals, yet the demand for visas to visit the United States is enormous. Last year, the State Department issued 7.1 million non-immigrant visas, more than triple the number issued 30 years ago. So consular officers often have no more than a few minutes to assess each application.

Because of this ballooning workload, all junior Foreign Service officers are required to adjudicate visa applications for a year or more. That has turned this profound responsibility into a dreaded rite of passage for new Foreign Service officers, and visa responsibilities are held in low regard institutionally.

We also need tougher standards. For instance, visa officers should be instructed to deny entry permits to people who are clearly enemies of America, even if they haven't actually committed a terrorist act. Currently, the law makes it extremely difficult to turn down an applicant because of his "beliefs, statements, or

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associations, if such beliefs, statements, or associations would be lawful within the United States." At present, keeping out someone who distributes Osama bin Laden videos, or even a terrorist sympathizer who publicly organizes demonstrations calling for the destruction of America, requires the secretary of state to personally make the decision and then report the case to Congress. As a result, few if any individuals are excluded based on their anti-American beliefs.

> "These are *not* U.S. *citizens* entitled to full American *freedoms* —they are *guests* from overseas whose presence here is a *privilege*."

Individuals expressing strong anti-American views should be added to the "watch list" used to deny visas. Some may object to the idea of excluding people based on their political beliefs, but being denied a visa does not prevent a person from expressing his views, it simply prevents him from living in this country.

Additionally, citizens of countries with many terrorists or terrorist sympathizers (Egypt and Saudi Arabia, for example) should have to pass a much higher bar for visa issuance, including a thorough security clearance (working with local authorities). No visas should be issued to citizens of Middle Eastern countries at U.S. consulates outside their home countries—an American visa officer in Germany is less likely to be able to identify a problem applicant from Saudi Arabia than his counterpart based in Saudi Arabia. There is nothing unusual about country-specific variations in visa policies. A citizen of Poland currently needs a visa to vacation in the United States, while a Japanese national does not.

Control Our Borders

The next layer of protection is the border itself, which has two elements: 1) ports of entry where travelers enter the United States, and 2) the stretches between those entry points. The first are staffed by immigration and Customs inspectors, the second, are monitored by the Border Patrol and the Coast Guard.

We need a greater investment of manpower and infrastructure at each of these levels—many more inspectors and more inspection lanes at crossing points. Immigrant smuggling was almost completely shut down when security was tightened after the September 11 attacks. Continuing this more intensive checking, using additional inspectors to avoid excessive delays, can yield much better security.

We should have learned our lesson in December 1999, when Ahmed Ressam was stopped by a border inspector in Washington state. He had trained at bin Laden's terrorist camps in Afghanistan and had a car full of explosives with which he was going to disrupt millennium celebrations in Seattle and blow up Los Angeles International Airport. He had entered Canada with a forged passport, requested political asylum, and been released into the Canadian population.

As part of improved border control we need an accurate system for tracking the U.S. entries and exits of foreigners. There is currently no mechanism for tracking land departures, and the system for tracking arrivals and departures by air is completely broken. We have no way of knowing whether foreign visitors admitted on visas actually leave the country when their visas expire. There are an estimated 3 to 4 million people living in the United States who entered the country legally but never left, accounting for perhaps 40 percent of the total illegal-alien population, but we have no way of picking them out.

In 1994, the bipartisan U.S. Commission on Immigration Reform, headed by the late Barbara Jordan, called for computerized tracking of all arrivals and departures by land, sea, and air (including Canadians, who don't need visas). In the 1996 immigration law, Congress directed the INS to develop such a system, but this provision was postponed and in 2000 effectively shelved, partly at the behest of businesses in border states. The concern was that the system would create interminable traffic jams. A technologically modern system with an adequate number of scanners should not significantly impede traffic at all, however. This, of course, would require greatly increased investment in equipment and personnel at our borders.

A tightly monitored entry-exit system would be of limited value if it continues to be easy to cross our borders illegally. A serious attempt has been made in recent years to expand the Border Patrol, although the total number of agents is still only about 9,000. It may be a reasonable long-term goal to triple that number. Recent patrol improvements along our Mexican border, which have reduced illegal crossings, need to be extended and transferred to the Canadian border as well—where terrorists, for a variety of reasons, are more likely to cross.

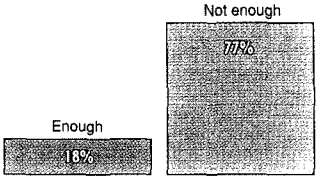
Enforce Immigration Laws

So long as we continue to neglect enforcement of immigration law and allow millions of illegals to live in our country, we will expose our country to very significant terrorist threats. Fortunately there are a number of steps we can take.

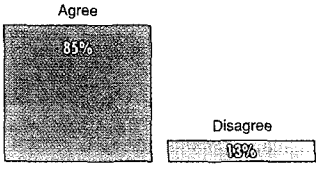
Tracking foreign residents granted admission to the U.S. for extended periods is quite possible with the assistance of the American institution responsible for their whereabouts. At least one of the

Too Loose, They Say

"Do you think the government is doing enough or not enough to control the border and to screen people allowed into the country?"



"Enforcement of immigration laws and the border has been too lax and this made it easier for the terrorists to enter the country."



Source: Zogby Poll commissioned by the Center for Immigration Studies; questions asked September 15-16, 2001.

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September 11 terrorists entered the country on a student visa, yet never showed up for a class, without triggering any concern anywhere. This should not be possible.

The 1996 immigration law mandated that the INS develop a computerized tracking system for foreign students, to replace the current paper-based, manual system. Unfortunately, the system has not gone beyond the pilot stage, and is only being tested in a couple of dozen southeastern schools, largely because of opposition from colleges.

The nature of a visiting student's studies should also be a legitimate matter of concern. We currently make little or no effort to prevent students from terrorism-sponsoring states from studying subjects that could be used in weapons programs. A lack of monitoring allows students to declare their intention to study an innocuous social science, for instance, but then change to nuclear engineering or microbiology without anyone being alerted to this fact.

The INS tracking system now in development should be expanded to cover foreigners working in the U.S. as well as students. Biometric identifiers like a fingerprint scanning system are critical, because we know Middle East terrorists (and other unwanted visitors) now routinely enter this country using aliases and forged identity documents (see next article)—as several of the September 11 hijackers did. Biometric tracking of foreigners should be used at each border crossing, each change in school or work status, each arrest, each application for government benefits. This tracking file should be accessible to law enforcement authorities.

Civil libertarians may howl. But remember, these are not American citizens entitled to full American freedoms; they are guests from overseas whose presence here is a privilege. Americans will have to wait in longer lines and endure tighter checks from now on; it is not too much to ask foreign citizens to do the same. The simple truth is, there is no alternative to improved monitoring if we want to keep admitting large numbers of foreign citizens while protecting national security as well.

Some may object to increased screening, law enforcement, and border control on the grounds that only a fraction of all immigrants and visitors who come to the United States each year break laws or represent a threat. We are, some would say, looking for a needle in a haystack. But then *all* security measures are directed at small numbers of lawbreakers within large groups. Millions of people boarding airplanes must pass through metal detectors and have their baggage X-rayed in a search for needles in the haystack. It is the same with screening foreign visitors.

To be sure, no reforms will catch all those who mean us harm. But we can make enormous improvements. If only one of the people involved in the September 11 plot had been identified by a consular officer, or when he entered the United States, or when his visa expired, the entire conspiracy might have been uncovered. Only a well-funded and well-run immigration system will be able to put to use the new information that will result from improved intelligence gathering over coming years. The different elements in national security all interconnect. Today's antiquated system for controlling our borders is one of our weakest links.

They're Coming to Our House

By Steven Emerson

Most Americans don't realize that the entire spectrum of Islamic terrorist groups now operates on American soil, including Hamas, Hezbollah, the Algerian Armed Islamic Group, the Egyptian al-Gamat al-Islamiya, the Palestinian Islamic Jihad, the Islamic Liberation Party, and Osama bin Laden's al-Qaeda. Immigrants and visitors have come to our shores, legally and illegally, to set up fundraising operations, political headquarters, military recruitment, and sometimes even command and control centers for each of these organizations.

Multiple factors attract these groups to America:

- our freedoms of religion and speech
- the ease with which our borders can be penetrated
- loopholes in our immigration procedures
- legal limitations which prevent agencies like the Immigration and Naturalization Service and the Customs Service from working closely with FBI counter-terrorism officials
- easy fundraising opportunities
- increasing cross-fertilization among different Islamic terrorist groups in the U.S.
- access to supporters among Muslim American immigrants
- easy availability of student visas even in countries supporting terrorism
- failures by universities to keep track of foreign students and their spouses
- protections afforded by specially created educational programs in areas like "Islamic studies"
- ease of visa fraud and the invention of false credentials ranging from passports to driver's licenses to credit cards

Terrorists will gravitate to those areas that give them the greatest freedom to maneuver, and the U.S. and Canadian landscapes have thus far been very comfortable. The list of major international militants allowed to enter the United States in recent years—some of them even granted permanent residency or citizenship—is nothing less than staggering. The arrivals include:

- Ayman Zawahiri, lieutenant to Osama bin Laden, leader of the Egyptian Al-Gihad organization, and convicted conspirator in the assassination of Egyptian President Anwar Sadat
- Ali Mohammed, a top lieutenant to Osama bin Laden (who enrolled as a Special Forces sergeant at Fort Bragg)
- Wadih el Hage, secretary to Osama bin Laden
- Ramzi Yousef, the top organizer of the World Trade Center bombing
- Sheikh Omar Abdul Rahman, head of the Egyptian Al-Gamat Al-Islamiya, and convicted leader of plot to bomb U.S. landmarks, bridges, and tunnels in New York City
- Musa Abu Marzook, one of the top three officials of Hamas (he founded a "think tank" in Chicago and Virginia)
- Ramadan Abdullah Shallah, head of the Palestinian Islamic Jihad (who served as a professor at the University of South Florida in Tampa)

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- Sheikh Abdel Aziz Odeh, spiritual leader of the Palestinian Islamic Jihad and *unindicted* co-conspirator in the World Trade Center bombing (who visited the United States multiple times for fundraising and political recruitment without any knowledge by the INS)
- Leith Shbeilat, a militant Islamic leader implicated in an assassination plot against Jordan's King Hussein
- Khalid Mishal, a top leader of Hamas, who, in his speeches in the United States, has called for stabbings of enemies
- Kamal Hilbawi, a spokesman for the Muslim Brotherhood, who has called for attacks on American targets and who has encouraged suicide bombings
- Yusef Al-Qaradawi, a leader of the Muslim Brotherhood and active supporter of Hamas and other violent groups, who has called for suicide bombings for and taking over the United States
- Qazi Hussein Ahmed, leader of Pakistani Jamaat-e-Islami, a militant group that supports violent *jihad*
- Wagdi Ghuniem, a militant Islamic cleric from Egypt who, on one of his recent visits to the U.S. was barred from entering Canada because of his terrorist affiliations and sent back to the United States, where he continued his tour exhorting Islamic groups to carry out *jihad.*

Foreign nationals who are terrorist operatives routinely use false identity documents to enter the U.S. illegally and/or remain here once they have entered. The ability of Islamic Jihad leader Abdel Aziz Odeh to enter the U.S. repeatedly without leaving a record under his real name is just one of many examples.

Other times, militants exploit due process procedures we have foolishly allowed to grow within our immigration law, despite the fact that the subjects involved are not U.S. citizens. Ghazi Ibrahim Abu Mezer, for example, who was arrested in 1997 for a plot to bomb the New York City subway system, had been apprehended by the INS three times in the 13 months prior to his conspiracy arrest for illegally entering the U.S. from Canada. The INS had begun deportation proceedings against him, but he was free on bail (and had filed a request for political asylum based on his fear that the Israeli government would arrest him for membership in Hamas if he was deported) while he worked on his subway plot.

All one has to do is show up at a U.S. port of entry, even without documents, utter the two magic words "political asylum" accompanied by any moderately truthful sounding story, and one is likely to be processed in—at least temporarily. If a name (real or false) does not appear on any of the watch lists, and the applicant merely has an alleged "friend" to stay with in the U.S., then parole from detention is likely. Of course, terrorist aliens so released seldom show up for later hearings. Other immigration schemes—marriage fraud, family relation fraud, work visa fraud, and religious worker fraud, to mention a few, have also been used by Islamic militants to gain entry to this country.

Many times, Islamic militants will come to the U.S. openly. In certain cases, Islamic "think tanks" have sponsored them for work visas. Shorter U.S. visits have been made by many Islamic militants with the official purpose of appearing at a religious-based conference in the U.S. attended primarily by American Muslims. The real rationale for these visits is to recruit new members of militant organizations; facilitate fundraising for their activities; coordinate political and even military strategies

with other militants; indoctrinate new "foot soldiers"; and even participate in terrorist training sessions.

During these conferences, it is not uncommon to hear Islamic militants praise terrorists and attack the United States. These incendiary lectures, almost invariably in Arabic, are not illegal, and federal law enforcement agents are largely prohibited from attending the conferences because of restrictions imposed by the attorney general guidelines against any surveillance of religious groups unless there is ironclad evidence ahead of time that a crime or a conspiracy to commit a crime will take place. Of course, absent direct surveillance, it is almost impossible to obtain such evidence—which creates a Catch-22 conundrum.

In recent years, liberal editorialists and members of Congress have tried to block the use of classified law enforcement evidence in immigration proceedings which might prevent such individuals from entering the U.S. This is shortsighted. What opponents of classified evidence forget is that immigration proceedings are administrative—not criminal—in nature, and that the persons in question are foreigners, not citizens. For both reasons, we need not be so fastidious about extending civil liberties privileges. Besides, any aliens detained in such hearings hold their own jail keys—all they have to do is agree to return to their country of origin and they can go free.

Unfortunately, the critical role played by the Immigration and Naturalization Service in keeping America safe from terrorists has not been recognized by many American leaders—or even by INS managers themselves. More attention to this important mission, and more support for those carrying it out, is badly needed.

This is adapted from terrorism expert Steven Emerson's testimony to a January 2000 Congressional hearing on terrorism and immigration policy.

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By Deroy Murdoc

Walking The Tightrope

To Thwart Overseas Enemies

A French stuntman once traversed a tightrope between the two World Trade Center Towers. Now Uncle Sam must conduct his own tightrope walk. He must avenge the September 11 massacre and prevent another assault from ever happening again. Yet he must do so without letting the scope of police powers or the size of government bloat excessively—as often happens in times of strife. Maintaining a balance between security and liberty is essential, and avoiding a stumble will require unparalleled discipline by both the White House and Capitol Hill.

The meticulously scripted terrorist attacks on New York and Washington were quickly followed by calls for stronger federal police powers. The total surprise, sheer audacity, and lethal results of this unprecedented onslaught made enhanced federal surveillance and prosecutorial tools tough to resist. In fact, the Senate passed the Bush administration's plan after barely half an hour of debate.

In the House, though, an unlikely alliance of conservative Republicans and liberal Democrats grabbed the emergency brake before Big Brother's bandwagon could leave the driveway. The House Judiciary Committee unanimously scaled back an administration request for powers to detain suspicious immigrants indefinitely. Instead, they will be able to be held for seven days, after which they must be released, deported, or indicted. Without a search warrant, police may read the origins and destinations of a suspect's e-mails, but not the "content," as the Department of Justice had hoped. The DoJ also wanted to permit criminal investigators to view a suspect's tax records. The House limited that new authority to terrorism cases. At this writing, negotiators are trying to reconcile the more restrictive House bill with the more expansive Senate measure. Thus far, things seem to be moving the House's way.

The frightening reality is that there likely will be more attacks on America as the War on Terror unfolds. New acts of mass murder may prompt additional proposals that restrict our personal freedoms. How might we assess the long-term wisdom of such policies? Three principles may help assure that any new measures oppress terrorists rather than American citizens.

First, expanded police powers should be directed at suspected terrorists, not the American people in general. Non-violent offenders should not be prosecuted as robustly as those who detonate office buildings.

Second, domestic surveillance operations should always require court orders. While these tend to be granted almost automatically, the fact that two branches of government must cooperate before anyone in this country has his phone or computer tapped should frustrate overzealous or malicious officials.

Third, all new powers granted in the War on Terror should be subject to "sunset" provisions. This would require each Congress to review and reauthorize such laws. Those that proved helpful and unproblematic could be renewed. Those that backfired could be expunged from the U.S. Code. This would give Congress regular opportunities to modify or remove laws if they were abused by the Bush administration or some future government (e.g. the Hillary Clinton administration or Attorney General Maxine Waters). Sunset clauses also would make the balance between freedom and security an issue in congressional elections.

On the whole, the law enforcement reforms adopted after September 11 have been fairly sensible. But up on his tightrope, Uncle Sam is being buffeted severely by the winds of government growth. He had better hold on for dear life.

No one would argue against the $40 billion in emergency funding that Congress approved shortly after terror struck. These funds—to boost America's defenses and rebuild the attacked areas—are for precisely the objectives for which a limited government is constituted.

Alas, that's only where the spending began. The fatal blasts blew open the so-called Social Security "lock box," and triggered

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an unseemly, bipartisan spending orgy. In addition, Washington threatens to nationalize functions that should remain in private or municipal hands.

> "Perhaps linking Disneyland to Circus Circus casino will kill al-Qaeda terror operatives with jealousy."

Certain new federal programs make sense. President Bush appointed former Pennsylvania Governor Tom Ridge as the Cabinet-level director of the Office of Homeland Security. Despite its mildly Teutonic name, under Ridge's leadership this new agency could rationalize the federal government's currently disjointed efforts to prevent domestic terrorism. Given the apparent existence within America of murderous sleeper agents loyal to terrorist groups, one only can wish Ridge Godspeed.

But there may be no need to nationalize airline security. Congressional Republicans fear that Democratic hopes to hire 30,000 new federal workers to screen passengers at airports are as much about increasing the ranks of public-employee unions as about bolstering safety. Checkpoint personnel should remain private employees, albeit subject to strict federal performance guidelines.

Washington might encourage insurance companies to play a greater role in tightening security, perhaps by offering lower premiums to airlines that boost the training, wages, incentives, and efficiency of security employees. Given the federal government's allergy to individual accountability, difficulties in firing poor workers, and hostility to bonus pay for stellar employees, placing Washington in charge of carry-on luggage is a worrisome prospect indeed. The feds are as likely to excel in that area as they have at air traffic control. Instead, the government should set appropriate standards, then let private industry decide how to meet them.

But nationalizing metal detectors is only one of the troublesome items on Washington's new wish list. Unfortunately, Republicans and Democrats alike are using war fever to justify other pet programs and money grabs.

Rep. Larry Combest (R-TX) shamefully used the smoldering wreckage of September 11 to propel the "Farm Security Act" through the House. According to a "Dear Colleague" letter Combest issued on September 27, the FSA supposedly would "ensure a safe and reliable food supply for all Americans." The real motive behind this $167 billion slush fund appeared in the amazingly selfish headline that began the congressman's letter: "What's in it for me? The 2001 farm bill: From Buffalo, Kansas to Buffalo, New York, there is something for everyone." This monument to greed appeared on Capitol Hill as everyday Americans donated time, money, and blood to those injured or traumatized by terrorism.

This farm bill's ghastly provisions include $101 million in subsidies for honey farmers. The once-extinct wool and mohair program has grown back at a cost of $202 million. Taxpayers will shell out $3.5 billion for peanut farmers. This measure, approved by the House of Representatives 291-120 on October 5, includes $94 billion in baseline agricultural pork, plus $73 billion in brand-new spending. "Maybe we could hit [terrorists] with peanuts," Fox News Channel's Bill O'Reilly suggested the evening of the vote. "You know, drop bags of peanuts on them and get them."

Meanwhile, the airlines' current travails prompted Senator Harry Reid (D-NV) to propose a $9 billion magnetic-levitation train connecting Anaheim, California and Las Vegas. Perhaps linking Disneyland to Circus Circus casino will kill al-Qaeda terror operatives with jealousy. Amtrak also leapt to argue that its increased passenger loads merit increased subsidies. Whether trains are empty or full, Uncle Sam gets a special funding request. (See pages 52-53.)

The AFL-CIO and a group called the Committee for Education Funding also proposed their own sweetheart deal. Columnist Robert Novak reports that they are asking Washington for $1.6 billion in new school-repair money. These funds "will be crucial for strengthening our national security," a CEF letter to Congress explains.

The Congressional appropriations process continues as blithely as if the domestic economy were booming and the Taliban had shared the 2001 Nobel Peace Prize with the Israeli Likud party. "It might be autumn everywhere else, but in Washington it's springtime for big spenders," lamented Office of Management and Budget director Mitch Daniels in mid October. Just days before, the House approved a labor, education, and health budget that hikes discretionary spending by 13 percent overall—roughly quintuple today's inflation rate. Next year alone, the Department of Education budget swells by 16 percent. That's still not enough for Senator Ted Kennedy (D-MA), who wants the Bush administration to support even higher school outlays. "They can stroke me with money," Kennedy told the *Wall Street Journal*. "I'm an easy stroke."

None of this surprises Robert Higgs, a researcher with the Independence Institute in Oakland, California. In his book *Crisis and Leviathan,* Higgs documents how emergencies often inspire massive, damaging, and rarely reversed governmental excesses. Fourteen years ago, Higgs presciently warned: "We know that other great crises will come. Whether they will be occasioned by foreign wars, economic collapse, or rampant terrorism, no one can predict with assurance [but] when they do, governments almost certainly will gain new powers over economic and social affairs."

As Ronald Reagan once observed: "Government programs, once launched, never disappear. Actually, a government bureau is the nearest thing to eternal life we'll ever see on this Earth." Among the "temporary" World War II measures still in force today are New York City's notorious rent control laws and the federal withholding tax (conceived, ironically, by a young Milton Friedman, who calls it his biggest mistake).

The federal officials who direct the War on Terror must resist the temptation to turn this Herculean and worthy effort into yet another excuse to feed the federal blob. At the same time, Washington should be relentless and ruthless overseas. Those who turned the Twin Towers, the Pentagon, and a Pennsylvania pasture into killing fields do not deserve the rights to remain silent, cross-examine witnesses, or deliver closing arguments. With the same vigilance with which he guards America's freedoms and its shores, Uncle Sam must find these savages and grind them into dust.

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Hunting For Manhood

By Ray Wisher

CAPE CORAL, FLORIDA—Brett's a good boy. But he lives in a confusing and tempting world of sick music, bad morals, poor schools, and rampant drugs. And like many 14-year-olds, he was unfocused, rebellious, and trying to figure out life when I met him through our church.

As a police detective, I know how easily kids can get lost. And I knew Brett's friends were an assortment of teens with criminal records, blue hair, and baggy jeans. So one day last winter I decided that Brett wasn't going to become one of them. I decided to introduce him to something that would get his attention, make him work, and challenge him to discipline himself. I took him bowhunting.

The deal was simple: Do better in school, respect your parents, think more about the future. In return I'd take him into the woods to stalk wild pigs. Brett couldn't wait to get going.

First I set up a bag target and showed Brett the basics of how to aim and shoot an arrow. He was sticking arrows dead center from the outset. We held contests, and he often beat me. He became pretty sure of himself. Then I made him run and do push ups to create the adrenaline dump that often leads to poor shooting during an actual hunt. His overconfidence faded as arrows began bouncing off the ground and sailing clear of the target.

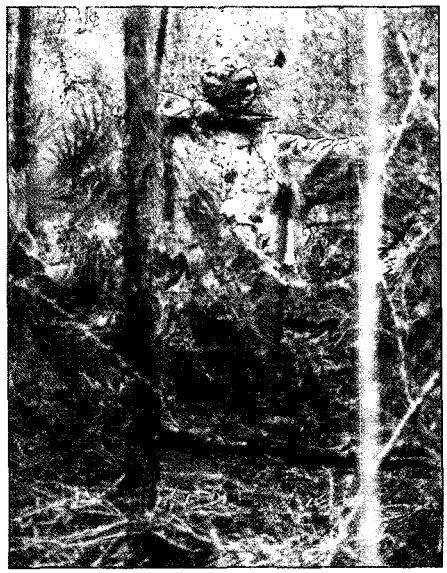
After a few weeks I felt he was ready to try some field scouting. That evening, a big boar slipped into the thicket where we were set up. I was crouched behind Brett as the pig started rooting only 15 yards away. Brett slowly turned his head and all I could see behind his camouflaged face were two huge eyes. His breath was ragged and he seemed to be grinning from ear to ear. When the boar finally figured out we were there, he began to circle us instead of running, once getting within ten feet as he tried to stick his snout into the blind.

Brett was hooked. He doubled his efforts on the practice field. He shot standing, from his knees, in the open, and behind cover. He began reading bowhunting articles, trying to understand the best techniques. His mother called to thank me, saying his grades were coming up. Over and over, I drilled him on the ethics of our sport, on the honor involved in doing it right.

One evening, we went to the woods and climbed two skinny pines in the middle of a thicket. Shortly before dark I heard sounds from our left. I watched as Brett quietly pulled back his bow and aimed. The arrow struck and the pig wheeled and took off. It was almost dark when we started tracking, and I was disappointed there was no blood. We'd travelled about 30 yards when from the thicket in front of us there came a low rumble. We backed out. Soon the rest of the pig's group surrounded us, growling, grunting, and snapping teeth. Brett was excited beyond words. He had shot his first pig and now we were in a standoff with rooters.

Two hours later, exhausted and frustrated, we had to call it a night. We had grid-searched the entire area and found neither the pig nor a trail. I explained to Brett that part of bowhunting is the fact that there are no guarantees. He was heartbroken. I could see he understood what all ethical hunters know: the seriousness of taking an animal's life without its successful recovery.

A few weeks later we tried again. When the pigs came crashing through the palmettos Brett got ready. A spotted pig rounded the corner and Brett pulled back and aimed. He waited for it to turn broadside, as he had been taught, then released. The pig took off with the arrow sticking out its other side. We got down and started to track. After a few yards I found the bent arrow and large amounts of blood nearby. This one wasn't getting away. We soon found the pig, dead as a stone.



Brett Lewis aims for a shot from his ground blind.

Brett jumped around like he was on fire. He yelled the same yell every young hunter has yelled since the beginning of time. He was a bowhunter! No bad grades, poor schools, or family troubles could take that from him. I made him drag his trophy back to the truck. He called his mom and dad on my cellphone.

Time will tell about Brett. But I know he now has a grounding in something that could lead him to a more disciplined way of life. The boy is a hunter. And that means something.

TAE *contributing writer Ray Wisher hunts in Florida and Alabama.*

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Flashback

To know nothing of what happened before you were born is to remain ever a child—Cicero

Frank and Nat

In the summer of 1821, two young men met on a stagecoach bound for Bowdoin College and struck up a fast friendship that would last throughout their lives. Fourteen-year-old Henry Wadsworth Longfellow may have impressed his classmates as Bowdoin's "Most Likely to Succeed," but stagecoach passengers Franklin Pierce and Nathaniel Hawthorne did all right for themselves too.

As midlife approached, Pierce was elected to the U.S. Senate from New Hampshire, while Hawthorne scratched along as a purse-poor writer of fantasies. The author had a recurring dream: "I am still at college...and there is a sense that I have been there unconscionably long, and have quite failed to make such progress as my contemporaries have done; and I seem to meet some of them with a feeling of shame and depression that broods over me as I think of it, even when awake."

Eventually things got better. Hawthorne's tales began to earn notice, if not royalties. And the solicitous Pierce sought a government position for his friend, finally helping Hawthorne land the post of surveyor in the Salem Custom House.

The fortunes of the Bowdoin buddies peaked in the early 1850s, when one wrote the imperishable *Scarlet Letter* and the other secured the Democratic nomination for president in 1852. After the candidate asked the now-estimable novelist to bang out a quickie campaign bio—surely an *infra dig* assignment for a genius—Hawthorne nobly acceded to his old friend's request, toiling for ten weeks to produce *The Life of Franklin Pierce.*

If the book was a dutiful production, it did evince a genuine fondness for its subject. Hawthorne, who was a conservative Democrat and generally disdainful of politicians, told a friend, "I have come seriously to the conclusion that [Pierce] has in him many of the chief elements of a great ruler.... He is deep, deep, deep.... Nothing can ruin him."

In the end, the "Young Hickory of the Granite Hills" defeated the Whig candidate, General Winfield Scott, whose supporters jeered that the bibulous Pierce was the "hero of many a well-fought bottle." Hawthorne later said, charmingly, of his powerful friend, "I do not love him one whit the less for having been President." But virtue has its rewards, too. A grateful Pierce named Hawthorne to the lucrative consulship in Liverpool; never again would the author want for money.

As a Northern man with a genuine respect for the South, Pierce might have averted the great calamity of the Civil War, but his administration was doomed from the start. In January 1853, as the Pierces prepared to move to the White House, their beloved son and only child Bennie was killed in a freak train accident. Mrs. Pierce, an extremely morbid woman on her best day, told her husband that Bennie's death was God's exaction for Franklin's ambition.

Pierce was paralyzed by fear that his wife was right. The First Lady would spend the next four years secluded in her room, writing notes to her lost boy, while the oft-drunken and guilt-wracked Pierce sleepwalked through his presidency.

The war whose coming Pierce had been powerless to stop filled both Pierce and Hawthorne with dread. As faithful New Englanders, they were Unionists, but halfheartedly so, for as Hawthorne wrote, "The States are too various and too extended to form really one country. New England is quite as large a lump of earth as my heart can really take in."

Hawthorne said, charmingly, of his powerful friend Pierce, "I do not love him one whit the less for having been President."

Both men were suspected of disloyalty; Pierce was eventually so execrated that Hawthorne's publisher tried to talk him out of dedicating his 1863 volume *Our Old House* to the former President. The author's reply was a classic statement of friendship. "I find that it would be a piece of poltroonery in me to withdraw" the dedication, he declared, for if Pierce "is so exceedingly unpopular that his name is enough to sink the volume, there is so much more need that an old friend should stand by him."

Hawthorne stood by him until the end. In May 1864, Pierce escorted an enfeebled Hawthorne on a carriage tour of New Hampshire's White Mountains. Death came to the author in middlenight, as Pierce slept in an adjacent room at a Plymouth, N.H. inn. In gathering the deceased's possessions, Pierce found an old pocketbook in the bottom of Hawthorne's valise. Its only content was a picture. A picture of the best Presidential friend a novelist ever had: poor desolated Franklin Pierce.

—Bill Kauffman

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Beat the Press

The hand that rules the press...rules the country—Judge Learned Hand

Where Are Free Speech Zealots When We Need Them?

Censorship in Israel is draconian by American standards. Journalists can be jailed for defying military censors, and publications have occasionally been shut down (temporarily) for defying the rules that require approval of articles on security matters prior to publication. It wasn't until 1996 that the name of the head of the Israeli General Security Service could even be mentioned in news accounts. Understandably, this has fueled a decades-long debate in the Israeli press and government over conflicts between the public's "right to know" and national security.

Foreign media have pushed for press freedom. In the late '80s, Israel tried to force journalists to participate in a pool system for covering activities in "the Occupied Territories." Bob Slater, *Time* magazine's Israel bureau chief and head of Israel's Foreign Press Association at the time, spearheaded a lawsuit against the Israel Defense Forces. He won an order from the Supreme Court, demanding the army show due cause why journalists shouldn't be allowed to travel alone.

Israel's policy on the press is marked by constant compromise among principle, necessity, politics, and the rule of law, as befits a democracy. The Palestinian Authority, on the other hand, just threatens to murder journalists.

By now everyone has seen the images of Palestinians cheering, ululating, and dancing in the streets like winners on the Arabic "Price is Right" after images of the World Trade Center attack were beamed across the world. Those celebrations were inconvenient for Palestinian leaders, who are dedicated to a Big Lie campaign that they are "shocked" and "horrified" by terrorist attacks (despite the fact that over 70 percent of Palestinians tell pollsters they strongly support continued suicide bombings in Israel). So when a second spontaneous rally broke out in Nablus on the West Bank the day of the attacks, the Palestinian Authority's solution was to allow it to continue with the stipulation that journalists not cover it. When some journalists resisted, they were arrested. One AP cameraman who managed to film the cheering crowd waving a giant poster of Osama bin Laden was told bluntly by the official PA security forces that he was putting his life in jeopardy.

Later, higher-ranking officials of Arafat's Fatah organization came by the AP office. Not to apologize, but to emphasize: We cannot "guarantee the life" of the cameraman if the footage is released. The chief of the AP bureau and the current head of the Foreign Press Association decided not to release the tape.

Facing the prospect of having one of your employees summarily executed will inject a healthy dose of realism into even the most zealous free-speech nut. And I can't second-guess the AP's decision from my position of relative safety here, especially since I never fetishized free speech. But, as criticism of Israel intensifies across America and the world, it's worth pointing out the difference between these two approaches. Israel, judged by our standards, is less than perfect, but our standards still apply; courts and criticism play a central role in protecting press freedoms.

The Palestinian Authority is a completely different story. In October, PA officials again forcibly blocked the media from reporting on demonstrations in which Palestinians waved signs lionizing Osama bin Laden, this time in Gaza. In fact, the PA has arrested and imprisoned authors for writing articles that weren't even published. Yasser Arafat has thrown journalists in jail for giving him good coverage but not on the front page. Maher Al-Alami, editor in chief of *Al-Quds*, was arrested and imprisoned when he refused an order to run a story about Arafat meeting with the Greek Orthodox Patriarch.

The American press, normally a font of self-righteous platitudes about free speech, doesn't seem particularly troubled that the Palestinians have threatened the most severe form of censorship possible: executing the journalist.

The New York *Daily News* appears to be the only major newspaper to speak vocally against the PA. "Blackmail must be defied," declared the *News*. "The news agency must not surrender the precious right upon which the very foundations of journalism rest: free speech. America is hated because of our commitment to upholding democratic rights. Thousands of Americans senselessly perished this week because of that. Bowing to the Palestinian Authority's wishes diminishes the deaths of all those slaughtered."

Meanwhile, the *New York Times* editorial response has been more typical: complete silence. Arafat did give an interview to *Times* reporter James Bennet as part of the PA's relentless campaign to "deny, deny, deny" that untold hundreds of Palestinians throughout the West Bank and Gaza celebrated the deaths of Americans. "For your information," Arafat told the *Times*, "it is clear and obvious that it was less than ten children in East Jerusalem, and we punished them."

"It was unclear how this assertion could be squared with photographs suggesting that there were more people," writes Bennet in the closest thing to criticism of the Palestinians the *Times* can muster.

Unclear indeed. —Jonah Goldberg

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Now Playing

Swedish Surprise

Courtesy of IFC Films

A scene from *Together*.

"All adults are idiots."

That's the pronouncement made by Eva, a 13-year-old girl in 1975 Sweden, in the humorous and humane new film import *Together*. Most kids come to this conclusion sooner or later, but Eva has a particularly good reason for her disgust: Along with her younger brother Stefan and their mother Elisabeth, Eva has moved into a hippie household known as Tillsammans—Swedish for "together." What Eva quickly recognizes, and what the movie ultimately reveals, is that this loose collection of extremists, with their close-minded food restrictions and open relationships, doesn't have it together nearly as much as they think.

Throughout the film, the silly ideals of the adults—"Washing the dishes is so bourgeois," one of them announces after dinner—are punctured by the kids' sense of logic. When little Stefan is introduced to a housemate his age named Tet and the other boy explains that he's named after the Tet Offensive, Stefan intently asks, "Are you from Vietnam?" Later, tired of the house's enforced vegetarian diet, Stefan leads the other kids on a protest march through the kitchen chanting, "We want meat!"

For all its humor, there are darker moments here and there which paint the commune as a place of actual danger for the kids. Wine and cigarettes flow freely in a house with too many "parents" and no one doing any parenting. The result? Tet stops by Stefan's room one night before bedtime with a glass of wine, explaining that he's always careful not to get too drunk. When Stefan can't fall asleep later that night, he wanders through the strange, dark house in search of his mom, and writer-director Lukas Moodysson invests the sequence with a sharp sense of anxiety, as if it were part of a horror film.

The nominal leader of this house is Elisabeth's brother, Goran, played by Gustaf Hammarsten. Soft-spoken and gentle, Goran holds strong to his ideology, but you can see his stomach start to churn when it's put into practice. After his lover trots off to another housemate's room for a tryst, Goran waits for her to return and tries to tell her that he's happy for her. In the midst of his claims, he has to rush to the bathroom to vomit. The common sense of the body trumps the over-intellectualizing of the mind.

Even so, the movie never plays Goran for a fool. Aside from a clear-eyed sense of wisdom, *Together*'s main attribute is its kind spirit. Eva may think the adults are idiots, but the movie treats them as misguided souls—people who deserve a sense of familial love even if they've been seeking it in all the wrong ways. There are no caricatures in *Together*, which makes its observations feel all the more real. Who knew satire could be this sensitive?

That sensitivity extends beyond the commune itself. Eva and her family have come there to escape Rolf, their abusive, alcoholic father and husband. As played by Michael Nyqvist, Rolf is hardly the stereotypical bad guy you'd find in a Hollywood drama; instead, he's a salvageable soul—as lost in his own way as the members of Tillsammans—and the movie extends him the same empathy it does to them. One of the film's most telling conversations takes place between Rolf and one of his plumbing clients, an older man who mistreated his family, got divorced and now spends his last days alone. "The only thing worth anything is being together," he tells Rolf, encouraging him to reunite with his family.

The movie doesn't claim that simply having a nuclear family ensures happiness; such an assertion would ring as false as Goran's open relationship. But *Together* quietly convinces that the love and encouragement we all need can best be found in the sort of traditional family environment Rolf and Elisabeth, by the end of the film, have begun to restore. Those who think they can dream up alternative utopias may not necessarily be "idiots," as Eva believes, but they're certainly self-deluded.

—Josh Larsen

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Enterprising

Business as an act of creation

Air Terror Saves Amtrak?

By Ryan H. Sager

When Amtrak was founded in 1971 and charged with taking over America's passenger rail service, its proponents claimed the new corporation would be self-sufficient within three years. This summer Amtrak celebrated its 30th birthday and blew out the candles on the most recent $3.6 billion in subsidies it has consumed over the past three years. The corporation also closed its eyes and made a wish: that Congress spend another $12 billion over the next ten years on rail transport.

Given the events of September 11, it now seems likely that Amtrak will be gifted with an additional multibillion-dollar care package. With Americans wary of air travel in the wake of the terrorist attacks, Amtrak has seen a mild boost in ridership—in the first five days after the attacks, total ridership was up 17 percent—as well as a burst of new political support. It now seems likely that Amtrak will soon get $3 billion in "emergency relief," instead of the tough government response to dismal financial performance that was headed its way until the al-Qaeda hijackings.

Whether the new turn of events will make Amtrak politically untouchable remains to be seen. Certainly the rail service continues to be riddled with fundamental flaws. And Congress had in recent years shown some determination either to reform or reconstitute Amtrak.

Amtrak had grown increasingly frantic over the last couple of years as it faced a rapidly approaching Congressional deadline to wean itself off the government dole. After reporting an operating loss of $944 million in 2000, the largest in its long money-losing history, Amtrak president George Warrington ordered a drastic 15 percent cut in management in July. Warrington has also floated the possibility of significant cuts in union employment, or curtailment of service. Such long-overdue streamlining has always stalled in the past due to Amtrak's extremely restrictive labor contracts and its historical reluctance to pare down its lines for fear of annoying Congressmen along the abandoned routes.

Like an old, pathetic gambler, Amtrak has spent the better part of its life claiming that it is *this close* to turning things around—with just a little more money. Kindhearted bookie that he is, Uncle Sam repeatedly declined to cut off the credit. But in 1997, Congress tried to get tough. It served notice that from then on a big guy named Rocco—also known as the Amtrak Reform Council—would be looking over Amtrak's shoulder. And if the rail service hadn't reached operational self-sufficiency by the end of 2002, Congress said it would bring out the pruning shears.

With that five-year deadline now only 13 months away, there is scarcely a soul outside of Amtrak's P.R. department who believes the company can cover the spread, even with its recently increased ridership. (The railroad admits it may actually be turning those extra riders—somehow—into *bigger losses*. The magic of government enterprise.) So what happens to Amtrak after 2002 is the multibillion-dollar question.

America's scarcely used passenger rail service (Amtrak had a total of 22.5 million passengers in 2000—less traffic than the Charlotte airport had that year) has an uncanny knack for survival. From time to time the profligate son gets spanked by fiscal conservatives, but he can ultimately count on support from a network of mayors, governors, and Congressmen who are determined to see the Amtrak gravy train keep rolling through their districts. While train service brings relatively little economic benefit to the areas it serves, politicians have convinced themselves that the political benefits are immense, according to transportation specialist Ron Utt of the Heritage Foundation. "There are a lot of mayors who think they'd be important if they had high-speed rail service," he says.

Amtrak deliberately cultivates patronage by maintaining a skeleton nationwide rail network, touching as many places as possible with infrequent service, even though such an endeavor is inherently unprofitable. "Amtrak has always operated under the assumption that it has to be national to get a sufficient majority in Congress to maintain its subsidies," said Utt. "If it were to shrink to an economically viable size, it would lose Congressional support."

Currently, the only section of rail in the United States considered to be economically viable is the Northeast Corridor between Washington, D.C. and Boston—a relatively short route serving a concentrated population. But in its efforts to remain a nationwide rail service, Amtrak maintains lines such as the one between Chicago and Janesville, Wisconsin (insti-

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tuted—what a coincidence!—when Wisconsin governor Tommy Thompson was also acting as Amtrak's chairman). This line was shut down temporarily in January of this year, ostensibly because of weather-related problems; in the three months before its cancellation, it had been carrying fewer than five people per train.

Amtrak's rare profitable lines are simply incapable of making up for the dead weight of such boondoggles. To partially compensate for its politically popular, economically hopeless ghost trains, Amtrak has undertaken an array of non-passenger-related schemes to boost revenue. In fact, Amtrak now derives 43 percent of its revenue from non-passenger businesses, up from 29 percent in 1990. Amtrak delivers packages, first class mail, periodicals, even apples, from coast to coast. It allows telecommunications companies to run wires along its track. It sells train-oriented souvenirs. Earlier this year it even mortgaged New York's Penn Station to raise cash. Yet none of this is enough to plug the gaping hole created by the network of wildly unprofitable passenger service.

In fairness to Amtrak, it has been plagued from the outset by the conflicted mission from Congress: Stick to an inherently money-losing business without losing money. "For 30 years, Amtrak has been expected to perform like a business, and at the same time serve community needs like a non-profit organization," Amtrak's Warrington told a crowd at the National Press Club in May.

What needs to happen, Warrington and many others believe, is for Congress to debate what inter-city passenger rail should look like in the coming decades. Does America need a vast network of passenger rail routes, regardless of ridership or profitability? If so, expect to pay through the nose to subsidize such a network. (Even in smaller and densely populated Europe, which makes rail a more natural choice than in the U.S., rail subsidies cost EU countries a staggering $30 billion per year.) If not, Congress must force Amtrak to begin closing down some of its unsustainable routes.

Amtrak's defenders contend that the railroad provides—or could provide

Like an old, pathetic gambler, Amtrak constantly claims it is this close *to turning things around—with just a little more money.*

with more funding—relief to congested highways and airports. Yet "most of our highway congestion is people commuting to work. You can invest all the money in the world in Amtrak and it won't alleviate that," argues Utt. The U.S. General Accounting Office recently told Congress that passenger trains between Los Angeles and San Diego, for instance, keep only about 2,000 cars off the highway each day—a drop in the bucket given the millions of motorists who traverse that busy route.

The idea that rail can alleviate airport congestion is also suspect. Currently, Amtrak carries 1 percent of inter-city traffic. Regardless of whether America gets higher-speed trains, rail will probably always be too slow to compete broadly with most air travel. A train averaging even 150 mph would still take nearly five hours from Washington, D.C. to Chicago. The same trip takes two hours by plane. Even with longer waits at airports due to increased security, business travelers going more than a few hundred miles will be faced with the same basic math.

And that's assuming proposed "high-speed" rail lines would actually live up to their name. While trains capable of reaching speeds of up to 186 mph can be purchased today, the fact is this is possible only under optimal track, weather, and terrain conditions. The U.S. has almost no routes capable of supporting such speeds, and upgrading them would involve enormous right-of-way, engineering, and financial obstacles.

Amtrak's first experiment in high-speed rail is a case in point. The Acela Express, which runs from Washington to Boston, is theoretically capable of hitting 150 mph. In reality, the train reaches that speed over only 18 miles of track, often moving as slowly as 30 mph due to freight traffic, urban congestion, and tunnel, bridge, and grade-crossing bottlenecks. Amtrak does have plans to upgrade the Acela's track: The cost would be $12 billion, and the estimated date of completion is 2025. The time to be shaved off the Washington to Boston route after all this work: a half hour.

Prior to the September 11 attacks, there was one major Amtrak bill on the table in Congress, a measure proposing to give Amtrak $12 billion over ten years to start building high-speed rail lines around the country. At the end of September, House Transportation Committee Chairman Don Young (R-AK) upped the ante with a bill offering $71 billion dollars over a number of years to finance high-speed trains and rail improvements. Congress has been on something of a spending binge since the bombings, and lawmakers seem not to be in a mood to trim rail service in any part of the country.

The Amtrak Reform Council, charged with determining whether Amtrak has met Congress's 2002 deadline for straightening out its finances, has proposed a structural separation between train operations and track management. The aim is to have a profit-focused Amtrak keep the trains running on time, while the government assumes responsibility for maintaining and improving tracks. Warrington has compared the ARC's proposal to rearranging deckchairs on the *Titanic*, and those who think Amtrak needs to streamline its operations down to a few corridors, serving public demand rather than political whim, tend to agree.

Very likely, though, the current operation will now remain afloat for years to come, puttering along on taxpayer subsidies. Amidst the travel panic created after September 11 we may even end up spending billions to make sure the empty trains run a little faster.

In the months ahead Americans will doubtless return to the skies. But our nation's feckless passenger rail service will keep rolling down the tracks—whether anyone's on board or not.

Ryan Sager is a writer in Washington, D.C.

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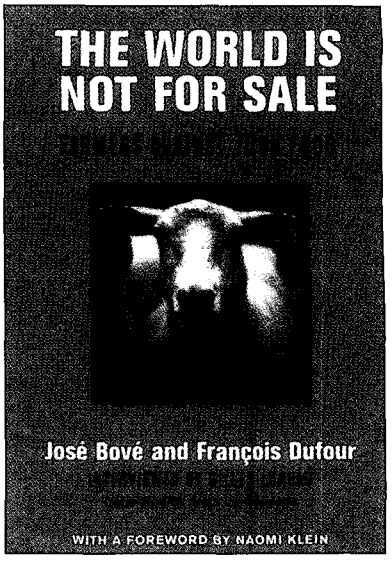
BookTalk



GLOBALONEY FOR ANTI-CAPITALISTS

By Blake Hurst

The World is Not for Sale: Farmers Against Junk Food
By José Bové and François Dufour
Verso, 240 pages, $25

José Bové is a radical who became a farmer. His farming career began as a protest against a proposed expansion of a French military facility. He and his wife squatted on a farm recently purchased by the army and began raising sheep. The French army retreated (no surprise there) and the plans to expand the base were abandoned. Bové and his wife continued tending sheep and eventually began making cheese. The land was eventually turned into a sort of commune, with Bové and other trade unionists practicing what his book calls "survival farming." Survival required a little deceitful help from a neighboring farmer, who falsely testified that Bové was a hired hand of his, allowing Bové to qualify for welfare benefits. And publishing contracts also come in handy for people who become salts of the earth for political reasons, hence this book.

Bové didn't hit the big time in radical circles until he decided to attack a McDonalds restaurant. The cause of the demonstration was Mr. Bové's disgust at a U.S. decision to slap tariffs on imports of the Roquefort cheese he and his neighbors produced. The tariffs were in retaliation for the EU's refusal to allow the import of American beef for fear of veterinary hormones. The case was taken to the World Trade Organization, which found that there was no scientific reason to ban the use of hormones, and granted the U.S. the right to impose retaliatory tariffs. In response, Bové and his group, the radical *Confederation Paysanne*, dismantled a nearby McDonald's. Mr. Bové paints his "action" as a blow against globalism, though globalism only seems bad when it hurts a French *paysanne*; he is happy to trade internationally when it benefits French cheese makers.

Bové's attack landed him in jail. But jail is a necessary addition to the résumé of any serious radical activist. His incarceration launched a career that has seen Bové and his confederates destroy a research plot of genetically modified plants in Brazil, run rampant in Seattle during a World Trade Organization protest, and travel to India, Turkey, and Wisconsin for other protests against modern farming. He leaves his wife at home to do the whole survivalist thing while he flits around the globe to protest globalization, being covered by Ted Koppel and others, and using extremely modern methods of agitation to demand a return to Middle Age methods of agriculture. According to a story in the June issue of *Outside*, Bové's wife is extremely unhappy with his new pursuits, accusing him of infidelity and emotional abandonment. Nothing like that ever appears in my *Farm Bureau News*.

The World is Not for Sale, a book written by Gilles Luneau from interviews with Bové and fellow activist François Dufour, is an indictment of modern agriculture. Both Bové and Dufour would like to see a return to small, garden-like farms that use mostly hand labor to produce our food. Tractors are condemned; simple hybrid seeds are criticized; the authors drip with disdain for things like genetically modified seed.

It so happens that hybrid corn, for instance, has tripled corn yields in the U.S., which is why it was adopted rapidly and voluntarily by grateful farmers. But it does require that farmers buy new seed each year instead of replanting their own harvest, and for this the authors indict an interdependence between farmers and "corporations." Their romantic nostalgia for an Eden-like past is amusing to those of us who remember that past, but attractive to many who've never done the backbreaking, dull, and repetitive labor that was the farmer's lot until the advent of tractors, chemicals, and the application of scientific research to the production of food and fiber. It's instructive to note that Bové, Dufour, and most of the activists making the same arguments in the U.S. are quick to leave the farm for careers expostulating before TV cameras or jetting about to organize riots in cosmopolitan cities, rather than staying home to weed their crops with a hoe and harvest them with a scythe.

French food snobbery is a part of this attack on any farming method developed since the early 1900s. Bové sneers that "in the U.S., food is fuel. Here it is a love story." The Paris newspaper *Le Monde* has informed its readers, "It is a cultural imperative to resist the hegemonic pretenses of the hamburger." But it's really too late, as Mr. Bové surely knows. Rather than being limited to what grows in their immediate region, people everywhere now demand fresh imported fruit in the winter, Sumatran shade grown coffee, and Quarter Pounders on every corner.

Agricultural markets will supply the

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demand for organic food, locally produced, traded between consumers and farmers who love each other. At a very high price. And even those wealthy consumers who demand that kind of agriculture will intersperse their trips to the farmers' market with stops at Starbucks, the ballpark for a hotdog, and a trip to the grocery store for fruit from Chile, perfect flowers grown with bug spray, and, yes, Roquefort cheese from France.

TAE contributing writer Blake Hurst is a farmer in Missouri as well as a writer.

STOCK MARKETS GROW UP

By Kevin Hassett

Toward Rational Exuberance: The Evolution of the Modern Stock Market
By B. Mark Smith
Farrar Straus & Giroux, 342 pages, $25

Let's skip to the punch line: *Toward Rational Exuberance* is the best history of the stock market that I have ever read, and I have already reserved a conspicuous and easily accessible spot for it on my bookshelf. Mark Smith, a former Wall Street executive, is a man who has a practitioner's understanding of financial markets. From start to finish, the book is chock full of fascinating and well-documented historical anecdotes. What astonishes, however, is the way Smith skillfully weaves these into a coherent tapestry. This book makes a genuine intellectual contribution to the debate about the nature of financial markets.

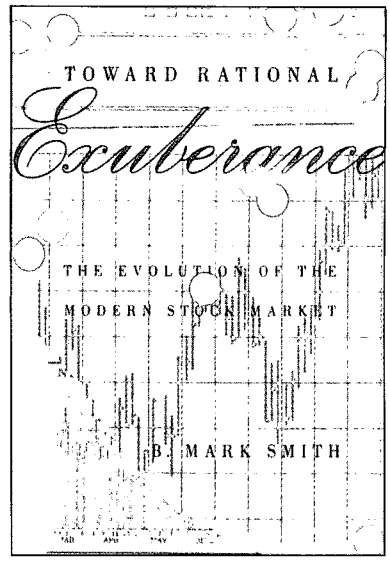
Smith's view, captured in the title, is that U.S. financial markets have gradually become more and more efficient and transparent. He suggests that since the stock market has changed so much in recent years, one must be extremely cautious about using old yardsticks to measure current challenges. The book effectively skewers many of the academic finance professors lately applying standards from distant history to argue that today's stock market is irrational.

Smith starts at the beginning. In the spring of 1792, 24 businessmen signed "the Buttonwood Agreement" (named after the Wall Street tree under which they met) and started trading several bank and insurance stocks. The agreement launched a vibrant financial market, which quickly fell into disrepute. In early March, just after trading took off, an audit uncovered shady dealings by Assistant Secretary of the Treasury William Duer and the market collapsed in a panic. Losses were estimated at $3 million. Alexander Hamilton referred to the stock traders as "unprincipled gamblers," foreshadowing the criticism that financial market participants would receive over the subsequent 200 years.

Next, Smith introduces us to the first professional bear. Jacob Little made a fortune off of short-term fluctuations in markets. He invented the short sale. He would sign a contract promising to deliver a certain number of shares six to 12 months hence, and in the interim work to make sure the price of those shares declined. He was dubbed a "bear" after the then well-known phrase "to sell the bear's skin before you've caught the bear." Short sellers employed quite a few devious tricks in Little's day. Businessmen could (and did) short their stocks, announce they were closing their factories, make a fortune when the shares declined in value, and buy the shares back at lower prices and reopen the factories.

In the past, financial information was so sparse that market manipulators had an easy time fleecing unwary stock purchasers. One master of this was Jay Gould, whom Joseph Pulitzer described as "the most sinister figure ever to flit bat-like across the vision of the American people." Gould would print up shares of Erie Railroad stock and sell them to unsuspecting brokers, keeping the cash himself. The scheme tremendously diluted the value of previously issued legitimate shares. In response, the exchange adopted rules in 1869 that forced public registration of the number of outstanding shares.

Such chicanery seems light years away from the world we live in today, bursting with financial information. Smith points out that back when shady characters like Gould were able to operate, extreme caution was advisable for anyone intending to own stocks. In less sophisticated and less honest markets, stock prices were comparatively low for good reasons.



Today, there is a higher willingness to purchase stocks, and this is reflected in historically high stock prices as reflected in P/E ratios (stock price/company earnings). Smith views that as rational.

While such a view might seem obvious, many academics dispute the idea. Yale finance scholar Robert Shiller, for example, argues that today's relatively high P/E ratios (even after this fall's terror-induced stock market drop) are the result of an irrational herd mentality among shareholders. He believes the U.S. market should drop from 50 to 80 percent to restore order. Only then would the P/E return to its average historical level.

Some reviewers have attacked Smith using Shiller's logic, which they say has been borne out by the relatively weak stock market of the past two years. This is poppycock. Nobody ever argued that a recession and earnings collapse could not slow an advancing market. Still, the long-term trends, as James Glassman and I suggested in our book *Dow 36,000*, are likely to be toward permanently higher stock prices.

Smith's documentation of how stock markets have evolved into ever more transparent forms is invaluable. His conclusions follow quite naturally by the time they are introduced in the last few chapters. However, what most recommends Smith's book is the quality of the historical scholarship. Even skeptics will find it a good read and a valued resource.

Kevin Hassett is a scholar at the American Enterprise Institute.

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Off The Shelf

Classic, overlooked, newly relevant, or otherwise deserving older books

RED STAR

By Jesse Walker

Omon Ra
By Victor Pelevin, translated by Andrew Bromfield, 1992

There's a rich strain of the absurd in Russian literature—which is appropriate, given the host of absurdities the Russian people have had to endure. What makes that nation's surreal canon special is its universal resonance, even when it responds to the more specific inanities of local regimes—be they Czarist, Bolshevik, or the present coalition of native kleptocrats and Harvard-trained advisers.

So it is with Victor Pelevin's *Omon Ra*, a satire of the Soviet space program that seems, by the book's conclusion, to have hit a much larger target. Written in 1992, when the USSR was still a fresh memory, Pelevin's novel invokes a world in which Soviet technology was an enormous fraud. The titular hero volunteers to be a cosmonaut, only to learn that this will mean secretly serving as the pilot of a supposedly unmanned high-tech space probe. Omon's role is to steer the moon rover, a vehicle covered with complex mechanical apparatus whose only purpose is to camouflage the fact that the rover is actually a modified bicycle. Once he has completed his mission, Omon is supposed to shoot himself, leaving his corpse on the moon, unknown to the world.

The book is a corrosive assault on those who would sacrifice human lives for a propaganda coup on behalf of "national greatness"—and not just in the Soviet Union. Indeed, the book's wittiest and most disturbing sequence features a key cameo by Henry Kissinger.

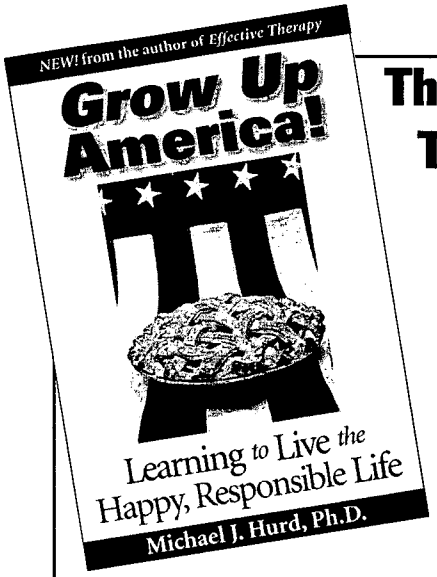
As the book progresses, it grows more delirious, with turns toward reincarnation, secret underground tunnels, and even a "Marxist theory of the moon." This rather non-materialist thesis holds that the earth once had five moons, with all but one falling from orbit over a period of centuries. "The fall of each of the moons has been accompanied by social upheavals and catastrophes—thus, the fourth moon, which fell to earth in 1904, and is known as the Tungus meteorite, provoked the first Russian revolution." How do we know this? On the authority of "a retired Lieutenant-Colonel of Philosophy," who goes on to cite "Lenin's two major works on the moon—*The Moon and Rebellion* and *Advice from an Outsider*."

In *Omon Ra*, Russia's technological fraud goes far beyond the space program. Her nuclear tests, for instance, were faked by forcing 2 million political prisoners to jump up and down simultaneously. And then there's the conclusion, which I won't reveal; let's just say that it casts the entire rest of the book into doubt.

Pelevin, born in 1962, is one of the most celebrated writers of Russia's post-Gorbachev generation—though, needless to say, he has his domestic critics. (One literary prize was denied him on the grounds that his work was "insulting the cultural memory.") With his dark humor and bent plots that fuse the mystic with the bureaucratic, he has been compared to some of the best absurdist authors, both from his homeland (Nikolai Gogol, Mikhail Bulgakov) and from abroad (Franz Kafka, Philip K. Dick).

Pelevin has yet to attain those writers' full powers. But it's not hard to see why one might put his books and theirs on the same shelf, especially after reading this sometimes sad, sometimes funny, and oddly beautiful tale about illegitimate authority. Soviet Russia, post-Soviet Russia, and the world at large can be unpleasant places in which to live. Pelevin's fiction may magnify those problems, but it also puts them into perspective. If this is dystopia, it is a dystopia with a pie in the face, and the glimmer of something transcendent.

Jesse Walker is an associate editor at Reason *and author of* Rebels on the Air: An Alternative History of Radio in America *(NYU Press).*



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Edited by Martin Morse Wooster

The Digest

Summaries of important new research from the nation's universities, think tanks, and investigative publications

POLITICS

Will Latinos Always Be Democrats?

James Gimpel and Karen Kauffmann, *Impossible Dream or Distant Reality? Republican Efforts to Attract Latino Voters*. Center for Immigration Studies, 1522 K Street N.W. #820, Washington, D.C. 20005

Republican political strategists are trying to figure out policies that will nudge Latino voters toward the GOP. But University of Maryland political scientists Gimpel and Kauffmann suggest that it's far more likely that Hispanics will become increasingly Democratic. "Prospects of a widespread Latino conversion to the Republicans," they write, "are more fantasy than reality."

It's true that, by attracting 35 percent of the Latino vote, George W. Bush did better than any Republican presidential candidate during the past 16 years. But Bush failed to do as well as Ronald Reagan, who attracted 37 percent of Hispanic votes in both the 1980 and 1984 contests. Moreover, with the exception of Texas and Florida, large states with substantial Hispanic populations are becoming Democratic strongholds. According to Voter News Service exit polls conducted last November, the margin by which Hispanic voters prefer Democrats over Republicans is 60-26 in California, 48-29 in Illinois, and 72-13 in New York.

Most Latino voters who say they're "independent," Gimpel and Kauffmann believe, in fact "vote predictably Democratic." Only Hispanic voters who say they're Republicans are actually likely to vote for the GOP. According to a 1999 *Washington Post* poll, 17 percent of Mexicans (the largest bloc of Latinos) say they're Republicans, as do 20 percent of Puerto Ricans and 21 percent of Salvadorans. Only Cubans, with 38 percent GOP support, form a substantial Republican bloc, and even those voters are likely to become more Democratic as the anti-Communist Cuban immigrants of the 1960s and '70s age.

The same poll shows Latinos lopsidedly favoring Democrats in all ages, education levels, and annual incomes below $200,000. Given that Democratic advantage, Gimpel and Kauffmann believe it folly for the Bush administration to pursue policies designed to attract Latino voters, such as allowing more immigration, providing amnesty to illegal aliens, or enlarging the welfare state. Such moves, Gimpel and Kaufmann warn, could end up repelling core Republican voters while failing to attract Hispanics, "leading to another one-term Bush presidency."

Do-It-Yourself Defense

Robert M. Jiobu and Timothy J. Curry, "Lack of Confidence in the Federal Government and the Ownership of Firearms," in *Social Science Quarterly* (March 2001), Blackwell Publishers, 350 Main Street, Malden, Massachusetts 02148

Despite government efforts to control or ban the sale of guns, there's evidence that American gun ownership is rising. American Enterprise Institute fellow John Lott calculates that the number of American adults owning guns grew from 27 percent in 1988 to 37 percent by 1996.

There are many reasons why Americans are buying more weapons, but one of them, according to Ohio State sociologists Jiobu and Curry, is that a rising number of Americans don't trust the government to protect them or their families.

Jiobu and Curry examined two decades of data from the General Social Survey (GSS), a long-running public-opinion survey of social trends. They compared questions about trust in government with questions about gun ownership, and found a strong correlation between lack of faith in the state and gun ownership.

Over the past two decades, on average, about 44 percent of Americans surveyed by the GSS said they "had hardly any confidence in one or more of the three branches of the federal government." And while only 23 percent of Americans who said they strongly trusted the state had a weapon, 37 percent of those who distrusted the state were gun owners. In addition, the authors found that gun owners were more likely to be WASPs, male, married, live in the country or a town, and live in the West or South.

Jiobu and Curry conclude that, given the large numbers of voters who distrust Washington, federal efforts to tighten gun control might backfire. "To mandate decreased gun ownership through gun control legislation," they write, "might only encourage those people who have little faith in the federal government to stockpile weapons."

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ECONOMICS AND BUSINESS

Chaining Entrepreneurs

James DeLong, "Old Law vs. the New Economy," in *Reason* (August/September 2001), 3415 South Sepulveda Boulevard #400, Los Angeles, California 90034

In 1997, a gentleman named T. Trahan of the CSC Credit Service wrote to the Occupational Health and Safety Administration (OSHA), asking which federal regulations would apply to employees who worked in home offices. Two years later, OSHA responded that, under existing federal law, home offices had to meet federal standards for clutter, lighting, furniture, and exit signs.

When the *Washington Post* made this letter public in January 2000, Congressional outrage prompted OSHA to reverse its decision. But the original regulations remain in place. Whenever OSHA wants, it can require employers to prove to the government that home offices meet federal standards.

OSHA, reports Competitive Enterprise Institute senior fellow DeLong, is not the only federal agency which puts roadblocks in the way of New Economy-style business. The Employment Standards Administration (a branch of the U.S. Department of Labor) issued a regulation about stock options in 1999 that declared stock options were pay, and would have (had Congress not blocked it) made it extremely difficult for employers to issue options to workers. The Internal Revenue Service regularly tries to reclassify independent contractors as employees, or force employers to hire only through temporary agencies (who then take a hefty amount of a worker's wage as a commission).

"Most of the structure of labor law," DeLong reports, reflects "thinking of the New Deal," and is inclined toward unionism, "old concepts of class conflict," and other assumptions that fit poorly with our new, fluid economy. Among other things, these regulations discourage self-employment, which has stalled.

Eventually the dream that the Internet and other high-tech tools will enable Americans to work from anywhere may become reality. But that won't happen without labor-law deregulation.

SOCIETY

Psychologically Unbalanced

Richard E. Redding, "Sociopolitical Diversity in Psychology: The Case for Pluralism," in *American Psychologist* (March 2001), 750 First Street N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002

It's clear that the social sciences, including psychology, are dominated by the Left. Redding, of the University of Virginia Law School, reports that "conservatives and conservative views are vastly underrepresented in psychology."

Redding conducted a content analysis of articles in *American Psychologist* and the *Journal of Social Issues* (a public-policy journal for psychologists) between 1990-99 and found that over 95 percent of the articles in both journals were liberal. Issues of the *Journal of Social Issues* devoted to affirmative action and the death penalty, for instance, had no contributors who support the death penalty or oppose affirmative action, even though these are "hotly debated social issues in the larger society."

Psychologists express ideological liberal uniformity on a range of issues. Most psychologists seem to believe that teenagers are fully competent to make their own medical decisions (e.g, about abortions) without getting parental approval, yet are immature juveniles in need of protection when charged with major crimes such as murder or rape. Many believe that people who oppose affirmative action, school busing, and welfare are "symbolic racists." And one American Psychological Association president called on his colleagues to adopt radical left-wing positions and "explicitly blend our data and values in order to make strong arguments for the kinds of change we think is necessary."

But such reflexive liberalism may discredit psychology itself. Some judges are now reluctant to admit psychologists as expert witnesses for fear that the "evidence" presented may be doctrinaire liberalism instead of social science. There's also some evidence that liberal therapists may have "less empathy for conservative clients" than for liberal ones.

In psychology, Redding argues, conservative views should "be sayable (comfortably so), seriously considered, and seen as respectable alternative perspectives. An abundance of diverse views is preferable for education and scholarship, clinical practice, and professional integrity."

Merit Pay Gets a Test

Steven Malanga, "Why Merit Pay Will Improve Teaching," in *City Journal* (Summer 2001), Manhattan Institute, 52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York, New York 10017

One of the long-running debates in education is how teachers should be paid. Teachers' unions argue that teachers, like other senior civil servants, should be paid more the longer they teach. Advocates of "merit pay" argue that the best teachers should get better pay than teachers who do a poorer job.

Although reformers have advocated "merit pay" proposals for the past 20 years, they've never been implemented, partly because no one has come up with a way that determines who the best teachers are in any school system. But now, reports Manhattan Institute fellow Malanga, some schools have figured out a way that could make merit pay work.

Cincinnati was the first city to test merit pay, beginning in 1999 with ten schools. Unions agreed to the proposal because it is teachers who evaluate other teachers' competence. Unfortunately, the teachers' union blocked use of student test scores as a measure in most cases. But at least there will be some procedure for assessing the quality of an instructor's classroom presentations. Cincinnati began evaluating new teachers and one-fifth of the old ones this year, and merit pay will begin in 2002.

Another reform is taking place in Iowa, where the state legislature recently allocated $40 million to move better teachers to the highest pay levels faster than poorer ones. As in Cincinnati, test scores aren't used to help determine superior teachers, although teachers whose students do well on tests will get bonuses.

Unfortunately, most big-city school systems maintain a "we don't do windows" union obstructionism against any form of merit pay, says Malanga. The

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hope is that the Cincinnati and Iowa experiments might eventually lead to more efforts to reward excellent teachers.

SCIENCE AND ENVIRONMENT

Property Owners Clean Up

Roger Bate, *Saving Our Streams: The Role of the Anglers' Conservation Association in Protecting English and Welsh Rivers*. Institute of Economic Affairs, 2 Lord North Street, London SW1P 3LB, England

What's the best way to fight polluters? Environmentalists often call for stringent government regulation. But Bate, of the Institute for Economic Affairs Environment Unit, thinks that private groups do a better job. He cites the efforts of the Anglers' Conservation Association (ACA) in using property rights to fight water polluters.

The ACA was founded in 1948 by lawyer John Eastwood. Under British common law, owners of river banks have "riparian rights": While they don't own a river, they can take a reasonable amount of water out of streams that flow through their land, as long as they return clean water. Owners of downstream property can sue polluters for water damages caused by any pollution.

Since anglers and angling clubs often leased fishing rights from landowners, Eastwood realized that if they united, they could sue polluters and force them to clean up the messes they caused. Between 1946 and 1948, Eastwood sent out three thousand letters to angling clubs to create the association. Government-owned industries ended up being one of their first targets. "Had it not been for ACA lobbying," Bate writes, "government Acts between 1953 and 1985 would have protected nationalized industries from all liability for pollution."

Bate calculates that in its first 50 years the ACA had about 2,000 court actions. Most of the time, cases were settled out of court, largely because polluters wish to avoid publicity. Bate estimates that the fines polluters paid as a result of ACA cases amounted to 32 million pounds (adjusted for inflation). In its 53-year history, the ACA has only lost three court cases.

Bate notes that the ACA tries to avoid legal action as much as possible, even offering expert advice to polluters about what they could do to clean up rivers. When the ACA does go to trial, it does not ask polluters for punitive damages.

The story of the Anglers' Conservation Association, Bate concludes, shows how property rights can protect the environment. "Where rights are clearly defined, as with anglers and rivers, potential polluters know exactly what they can and cannot do."

OTHER COUNTRIES

El Castrocito

Mark Falcoff, "Viva Chàvez!" in *The International Economy* (May/June 2001), 1133 Connecticut Avenue N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036

In the 1990s, democracy seemed to be thriving in Latin America. But now the pendulum is shifting back toward rule by strongmen. American Enterprise Institute scholar Falcoff looks at recent developments in oil-rich Venezuela.

Venezuela's president, Hugo Chàvez, a one-time lieutenant colonel who tried overthrowing the government in 1992. After that coup failed, Chàvez was elected president in 1998 under a "Revolutionary Movement" banner. He then held five elections in two years, in which Venezuelans approved abolishing the existing national assembly, replacing it with a legislative body largely composed of Chàvez's cronies, holding new elections for mayors, governors, and the presidency, and abolishing labor unions. In the process, a new constitution was implemented which allows the Venezuelan president to serve two six-year terms instead of one five-year term.

Chàvez is an admirer of Cuban dictator Fidel Castro; he has brought in hundreds of Cuban doctors and teachers, and has adopted Castro's technique of routinely giving multi-hour bloodthirsty speeches. When the unions were abolished, Chàvez said that protesting labor leaders were "like pigs squealing on the way to the slaughterhouse." Chàvez has a weekly call-in radio show and gives a half-hour television address every Thursday.

To stay in power, Chàvez has repoliticized the Venezuelan military. In 1958, the Venezuelan army, in return for retiring from politics, was given substantial pay increases and other perks. In 2000, Chàvez announced Plan Bolivar, which funneled massive amounts of money to the army to build or fix schools, hospitals, roads, and houses. Since most soldiers have no experience in construction, generals subcontract most work to construction companies linked to retired Venezuelan military officers. Chàvez's goal, according to Falcoff, is to make "the armed forces complicit in corruption" and thus tightly linked with him.

Polls suggest that the Venezuelan electorate is evenly split between strong supporters of Chàvez, strong foes, and a middle third that weakly backs him. Should the price of oil remain high, Chàvez will likely be re-elected. But if oil prices fall, Chàvez will probably be defeated. But having obliterated the opposition and corrupted the armed forces, Falcoff says, "it is difficult to see what institutions will remain to pick up the pieces when popular faith in Chàvez as a miracle worker has dissipated."

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Opinion Pulse

Edited by Karlyn Bowman

The World Reacts

Gallup International interviewers found that many people around the world knew of the terrorist attacks in the United States within three hours of their occurrence. With the exception of Israel and India, all nations surveyed preferred to extradite the terrorists to stand trial rather than launch an attack on the country or countries where the terrorists are based. When told that NATO and other countries had agreed to participate in military action against the terrorists and the countries harboring them, many of our traditional allies said they would support their country's military involvement.

Question: In your opinion, once the identity of the terrorists is known, should the American government launch a military attack on the country or countries where the terrorists are based or should the American government seek to extradite the terrorists to stand trial?

Question: Some countries and all NATO member states have agreed to participate in any military action against the terrorists responsible for the attacks or against those countries harboring the terrorists. Do you agree or disagree that your country should take part...?

	U.S should launch attack	Should seek to extradite terrorists to stand trial	My country should take part in action	Disagree
Austria	10%	82 %	14%	82%
Denmark	20	74	80	13
Finland	14	82	8	83
France	29	67	73	23
Germany	17	77	53	43
Greece	6	88	29	60
Italy	21	71	66	26
Luxembourg	18	78	74	18
Netherlands	28	68	66	20
Portugal	18	75	70	23
Spain	12	86	58	37
U.K.*	18	75	79	12
Norway	12	83	58	32
Switzerland	8	87	28	65
Bosnia	14	80	43	47
Bulgaria	19	66	21	66
Czech Rep.	22	64	55	34
Croatia	8	82	36	56
Estonia	10	87	38	53
Latvia	21	64	–	–
Lithuania	15	83	41	49
Romania	18	78	40	52
Ukraine	8	84	12	79
Argentina	8	84	20	77
Columbia	11	85	40	57
Ecuador	10	83	35	64
Mexico	2	94	21	78
Panama	16	80	20	75
Peru	8	89	46	52
Venezuela	11	86	6	91
India	72	28	86	8
Israel	77	19	66	29
Korea	38	54	46	42
Pakistan	9	69	32	62
S. Africa	18	75	44	46

Note: *Excludes Northern Ireland. The Gallup International Association, the sponsor of these polls, has no connection with the Gallup Organization in the U.S. Source: Gallup International, September 14-17, 2001.

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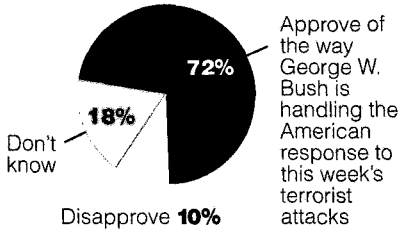
Early reactions in Britain were very similar to those in the U.S. A large majority approve of Bush's actions and support using British troops against those responsible for the attacks and the nations that harbor them. A majority of Germans agree that an attack against the United States is an attack on all NATO members. A plurality of Germans do not trust the way President Bush is dealing with the situation. A very substantial majority of Muscovites have confidence in the Bush administration's handling of the situation.

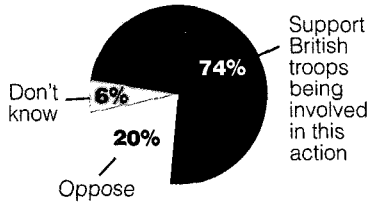
British Opinion

Question: Do you...?



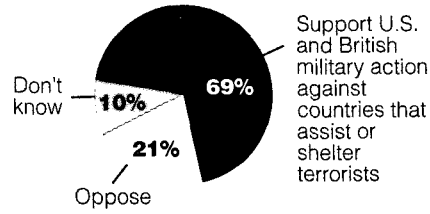
Note: On October 9, 72% approved and 19% disapproved.

Question: And if the United States were to take military action against those responsible, would you...?



Note: On October 9, 72% supported British involvement, and 22% were opposed.

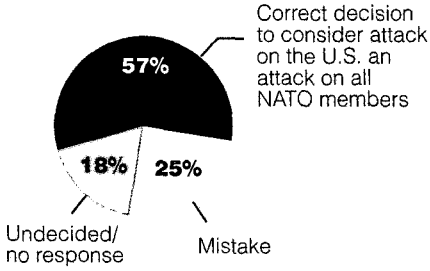
Question: Would you...?



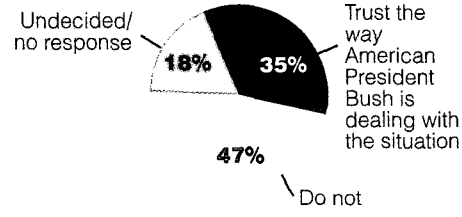
Source: Market & Opinion Research International (Great Britain), September 14, 2001.

Opinion in Germany

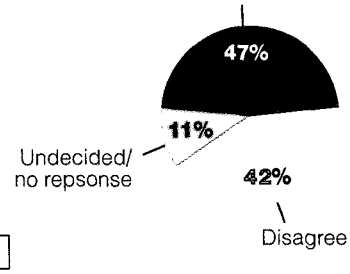
Question: NATO has now decided that an attack on the USA will be viewed as an attack on all NATO members—thus also an attack on Germany. Would you say this is...?



Question: And would you say you...?



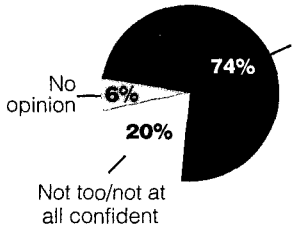
Question: The SPD party leader Peter Struck has said, "Now we are all Americans." Do you find that well said ?



Source: Institut für Demoskopie Allensbach (Germany), September 13, 2001.

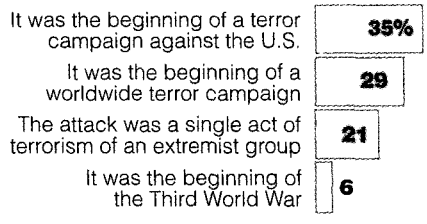
Opinion in Moscow

Question: How confident are you in the...?



Note: On October 6, 42% approved of U.S. military actions in Afghanistan and 49% disapproved.

Question: On September 11, 2001, the United States had to go through the most wide-scale terrorist attack in history. Which of the statements would you agree with?



Source: Russian Public Opinion and Market Research (ROMIR), September 12, 2001

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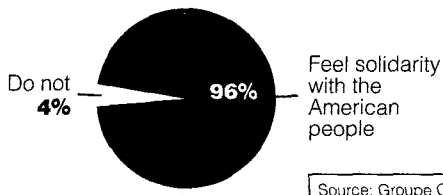
World Reaction (continued)

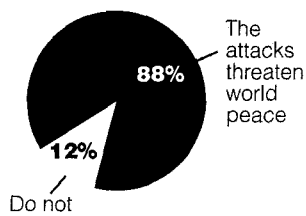
The French feel solidarity with the American people and believe the attacks threaten world peace. Hungarians feel the attacks have not shaken the U.S. position as a superpower and believe the country will surmount the difficulties. Australians and New Zealanders prefer to attack military targets only.

French Opinion

Question: Do you feel...?



Question: Do you think...?



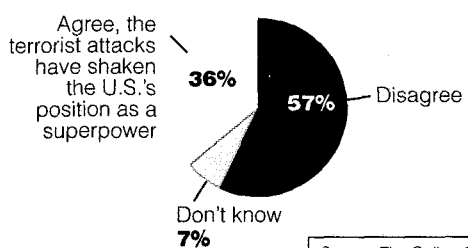
Source: Groupe CSA for *Le Parisian* and *Aujourd'hui* (France), September 12, 2001.

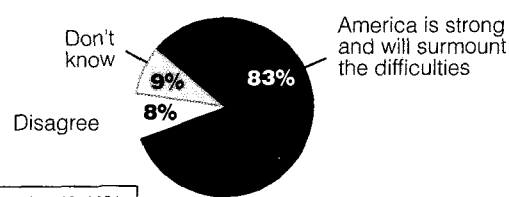
For a review of American attitudes on the terrorist attacks and the U.S. response, see **www.aei.org/ps/psfront.htm**.

The material will be updated every Friday for the foreseeable future.

Hungarian Opinion

Question: There are many opinions about the consequences of yesterday's terrorist attacks. I will read you a list of statements. For each one, please tell me...?

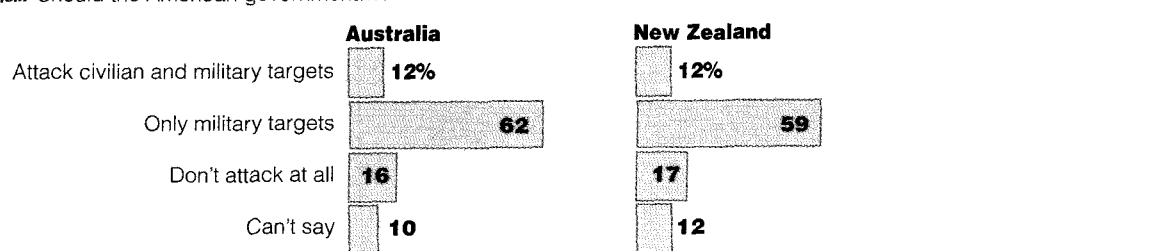




Source: The Gallup Organization (Hungary), September 12, 2001.

Opinion in Australia and New Zealand

Question: Should the American government...?



Source: Roy Morgan International, September 12, 2001

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the Mail

The horrific terrorist strikes on our financial and military centers instantly transformed these symbols of power into metaphors for our anachronistic military structure.

New York's Twin Towers were like two of our current Army divisions, designed for fighting WWII—massive hierarchical structures, vulnerable to current threats, with personnel concentrated in a way that thwarts mobility.

Ironically, the strike on the Pentagon demolished the Army office in charge of streamlining bloated headquarters staffs.

Congratulations to *TAE* for the October/November 2001 issue explaining the need for military reorganization. Now that we've been shocked from our seductive sense of false security, perhaps the mass media will turn to salient voices like Colonel Douglas Macgregor's.

When civilians realize that the reorganization of their military is essential to ensure greater security against the widest range of possible threats, pressure may finally be brought against entrenched resistance to long-overdue reform.

Ruth Windsor
Bedford, New York

As a long-time IBM employee, I resent Karl Zinsmeister's lumping us in with the ghosts of the likes of International Harvester and Pan Am (BIRD'S EYE, October/November 2001). Dell and Compaq hardly "overtook IBM."

We're the world's largest computer hardware company, as well as the largest information technology services company. We're second in software, where our portfolio boasts best sellers in the key technologies of the Internet age: databases, Web application servers, messaging, and development tools.

If Mr. Zinsmeister is looking for defunct computer companies, or ones on life support, there are plenty. IBM isn't one of them.

Kent Rebman
Brownsburg, Indiana

Mr. Rebman is right. Using IBM to illustrate an overtaken firm was stupid. IBM was, of course, overtaken in several high-profile consumer lines like desktop computers and operating systems (what I was generally referring to). But it has many other thriving lines, and the overall company is extraordinarily healthy. I should have picked a better example.

—KZ

If Max Boot is correct about the growing unwillingness among the American public to tolerate casualties ("Imagining Clean Pushbutton Wars? Get Over It," October/November 2001), we're on our way to a socialist America.

Lack of will and fortitude are traits of socialism. That's what infects France, a loser of every engagement since Napoleon.

Toby Elster
USAF (ret.)
Wichita, Kansas

Hendrik Mills accurately portrays the travesty of federal jurisdiction over Indian reservations ("Helping Victims to Their Ruin," July/August 2001). Decades of government programs have resulted in denial of full citizenship rights and responsibilities to American Indians.

An existence entirely dependent on the state has crushed personal incentive, as one misguided program after the other perpetuates the cycle of dependency that leads to despair. Today, despite the presumed "helping hand" of the government, every conceivable social ill is found on the reservations in abundance.

American Indians have been misled. Mills sums it up well: "They have been badly damaged by the idea that they are 'owed' something and that the public purse is their route to prosperity."

Stan Stephens
Governor of Montana (1989-1993)
Kalispell, Montana

I hope with all the fervor and fiber I can muster that you were able to provide copies of your absolutely dynamite "Energy Crunch" issue (September 2001) to the entire U.S. Congress.

If these articles don't open their eyes and minds, America is doomed to mediocrity when it comes to energy and the economy.

Ray Gerhardt
Las Vegas, Nevada

After September 11, there is an even greater imperative to become energy self-sufficient (see "Fight Terror: Drill in America" on page 10 in this issue).

—The editors

In this time of national disaster my beef is petty, but it must be said. I was disappointed to see "Gonna" above James Glassman's piece on Social Security reform (FORWARD OBSERVER, October/November 2001). What's next—"whatever"?

On the bright side, *TAE*, unlike *National Review*, has never published an article about Rosie.

Jim Cierzniak
South Bend, Indiana

The American Enterprise welcomes your comments. Send to "The Mail," The American Enterprise, 1150 17th Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Or fax to (202) 862-5867. Or e-mail TAE@aei.org. Please include your address and phone number. Published letters may be edited for length and clarity.

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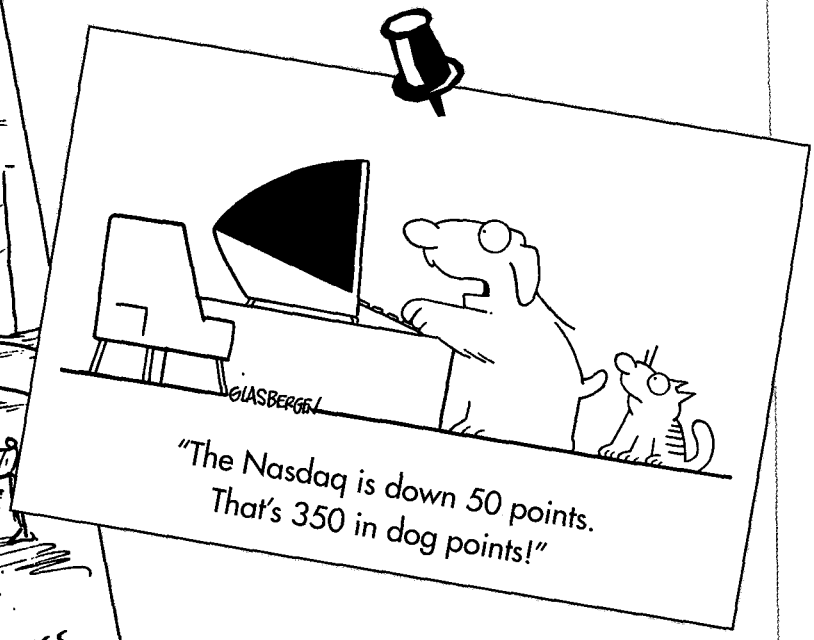

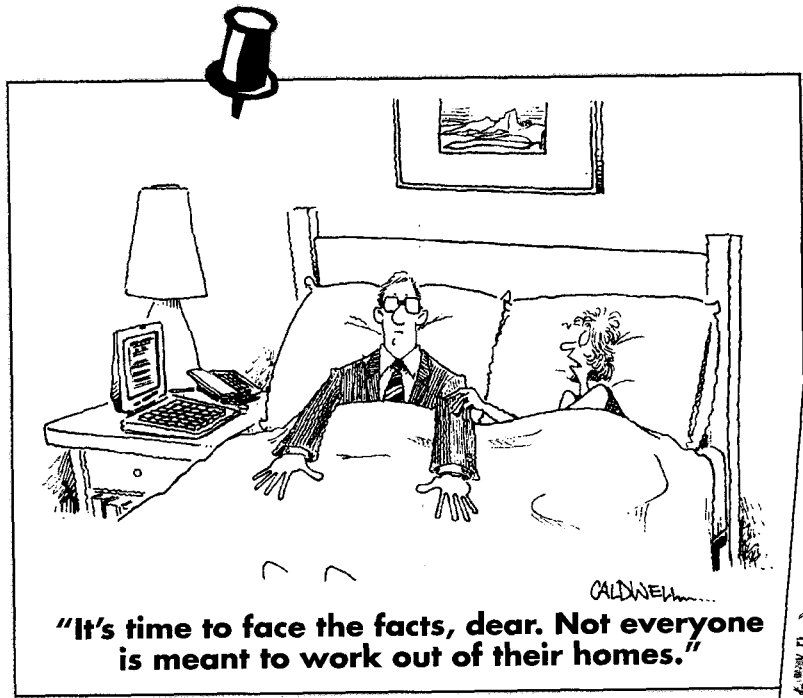

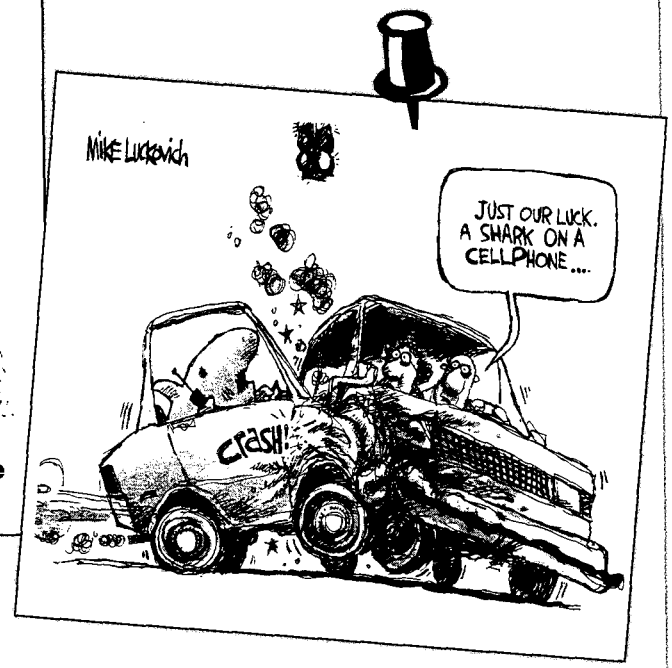

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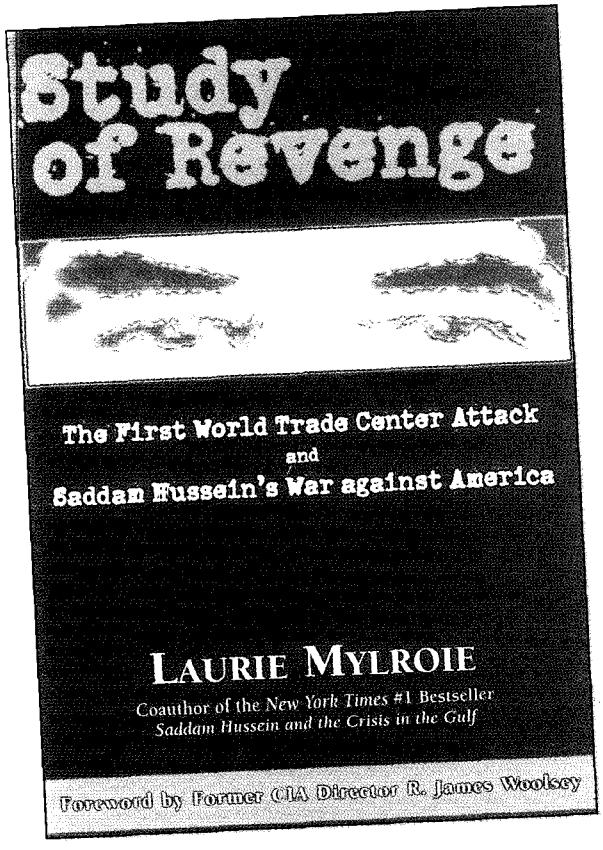
The terrorists' war against the U.S. started before September 11 . . .

""Laurie Mylroie's provocative and disturbing book argues powerfully that the shadowy mastermind of the 1993 bombing of New York's World Trade Center, Ramzi Yousef, was in fact an agent of Iraqi intelligence. If so, what would that tell us about the extent of Saddam Hussein's ambitions? How would it change our view of Iraq's continuing efforts to retain weapons of mass destruction and to acquire new ones? How would it affect our judgments about the collapse of U.S. policy toward Iraq and the need for a fundamentally new policy? These are questions that urgently need to be answered."

—**Paul Wolfowitz**, Deputy Secretary of Defense



"Laurie Mylroie has amassed convincing evidence of Saddam Hussein's involvement in the first attempt to blow up the World Trade Center. If she is right—and there are simple ways to test her hypothesis—we would be justified in concluding that Saddam was probably involved in the September 11, 2001, attack as well. Saddam's support for terrorism has been well established by Mylroie and others. There can be no serious war against terrorism that is not also a war against Saddam Hussein."

—**Richard Perle**, Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Policy, 1981–1987

"*Study of Revenge* is a fascinating book. Laurie Mylroie understands that what we do not yet know about terrorism, crime, and war may be more important to our security than what we do know. Mylroie describes the major terrorist bombings in recent decades and the major terrorists. Her book is bold and does not hesitate to name names and make charges. An unnamed intelligence source seems to speak for her, 'The finger of suspicion points straight at Saddam.'"

—**Jeane J. Kirkpatrick**, U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, 1981–1985

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A world of ideas on public policy.

Advertising and the Informed Patient

Merrill Matthews Jr., Ph.D.

Sometimes the benefits of freedom of speech are best seen in the little things. Take direct-to-consumer (DTC) drug advertising, for example.

Increasingly, patients and healthcare consumers want access to information. One recent survey found that more than 50 percent of adults who go on the Web use it for healthcare information.

Advertising is only a vehicle for getting information to potential customers. With respect to prescription drugs, it may be the most cost effective way to reach people with information about widespread medical conditions and new drugs to treat them.

In the United States, DTC drug advertising has been growing by leaps and bounds. In less than a decade, it has increased from $55 million (1991) to $1.8 billion (1999).

U.S. consumers appear to like the fact that pharmaceutical companies are reaching out directly to them. According to a recent survey by the federal Food and Drug Administration:

- 51 percent of respondents who had seen a doctor in the last three months said that a prescription drug ad caused them to look for more information about the drug.
- And 72 percent rejected the notion that prescription drug advertisements made it seem that a doctor wasn't needed to decide if a drug was right for them.

As a result of this information outreach people with medical conditions – many of whom simply decided to live with the condition since they had no idea an effective treatment existed – are now seeking care. And they're getting relief.

However, most European countries and Canada either prohibit or severely limit such advertising. As a result of these restrictions on speech, Europeans and Canadians are effectively being excluded from the healthcare information revolution that is going on in the United States.

Increasingly, patients and healthcare consumers want access to information

Critics of DTC advertising claim that it increases total healthcare spending, which is one reason why countries with government-funded healthcare systems restrict such ads.

It is true that total healthcare spending may go up, but there is nothing wrong with that if people are getting treated for medical conditions that had gone undiagnosed. Is it better to leave people with treatable medical conditions untreated and in pain because a government or insurance company doesn't want people to know there is a cure?

Some critics also contend that advertising makes drugs more expensive. But such concerns reveal a lack of understanding about the effect of advertising. In a competitive market, advertising can – and should – lower costs by expanding consumer awareness and increasing sales, lowering the fixed costs per consumer.

The drug industry is very competitive; no drug company has more than 5 to 6 percent of the worldwide pharmaceutical market. The fact is that in a competitive market, drug companies cannot just add the cost of advertising to the price of their products because they could lose market share.

Just consider that among the top 50 prescription drugs advertised DTC in the U.S. in 1999:

- Three were oral antihistamines for allergies.
- Four were inhaled respiratory steroids.
- Three were oral diabetes medications.
- Three were antiarthritic drugs.

The growing level of competition forces drug companies to keep prices down. For example, the first prescription antidepressant was released in 1988. All of the subsequent antidepressants were launched at a lower price than the original drug, indicating an attempt to gain market share. Thus competition led to more choices and lower prices.

A generation ago physicians were the possessors of all medical information. Patients went to physicians and accepted evaluations and diagnoses almost without question. Today, things are very different. Increasingly, healthcare is shifting from a physician-directed system to a patient-directed one. And direct-to-consumer pharmaceutical ads are a response to the transitional process, not the cause of it.

People want access to medical information, and DTC drug ads are one source of that information. Prohibiting or severely restricting such ads means that people who could be treated will continue to suffer, and may face more extensive medical problems when they finally do enter the healthcare system.

Dr. Merrill Matthews Jr. is a visiting scholar with the Institute for Policy Innovation (www.ipi.org) in Dallas, Texas. This article is based on his new study, "Who's Afraid of Pharmaceutical Advertising?", which is available from IPI (+(972) 874-5139 or info@ipi.org).

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